THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM, *Editor*

Contributing Editors

MRS. ROBERT CARLTON MORRIS ROBERT M. SMITH WILLIAM T. HASTINGS

Advisory Board

JOSEPH Q. ADAMS HARDIN CRAIG WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON

Vol. 12 APRIL, 1937 No. 2

CONTENTS

PAGE

A Wreath for Shakspere (Poem) ..... *Thomas Walsh* 68

E. W. His Thameseidos ..... *F. M. Padelford* 69

"Runaways Eyes" Again ..... *I. J. Kapstein* 77

Spenser As a Fabulist (Part I) ..... *Louis S. Friedland* 85

Index of Names in the 1936 Bibliography ..... *Robert W. Babcock* 109

A New Preface to Shakspere's Sonnets ..... *Henry W. Wells* 118

COMMUNICATION ..... *Max Huhner, M.D.* 130

Published quarterly, in January, April, July, and October, by The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., 808 West End Avenue, New York.

Subscription rate, $2.00 per year, postpaid. Single copies, fifty cents.

Membership in the Association includes annual subscription.

All correspondence relating to the conduct of the BULLETIN should be addressed to Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, 808 West End Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Other matters relating to the work of the Association should be referred to the Secretary.

Copyright, 1935, by The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc.

A WREATH FOR SHAKSPERE

Read before The Shakespeare Club of New York, April 23, 1912, by

THOMAS WALSH.

" 'Tis an unweeeded garden",—yet it grows,
This world of ours today as other days,
Its wreath for you of an immortal rose,
Of faith, and love, great Shakspere, and of praise.

Today no ranker in its growth, than when
It gave you birth amid embattled gates,
And trumpetings of serfs who strove as men
In face of greed yon dolts and scoffing fates:

You—the white flower of morning on that pool
Whose turbid waters drained the tears and slime
From out an age imperial whose rule,
For all its wrongs, yet gilds the peaks of Time!

You—the full rose of England's moulded heart,
Of Saxon stem, of Norman leaf and thorn,
Of Celtic petal—you, whose soul and art,
Though day wears on, are pure as at the morn!

They say—the hawkers in our market-place—
That you outworn are buried in the past;
That new evangels, newer forms, efface
The honest, human mouldings you have cast;

That man has changed, his heart's desire is new,—
That death and life to newer terms have come,—
That health and right should count no more of you;
They bid you to your niche amid the dumb.

Pity our chaos and our little scribes,
Calm Prospero; we flounder on Life's tide,
Mistaking false and real, truths and gibes,
Mocking art's compass, yet without a guide!

But ever, while there is a hand to hold
The reins upon the steeds of passion, while
There is a head to lift its temples cold
Amid the caldron fumes of pride and guile;

While there be souls that gently love,—strong men
Of tenderness unashamed, too wise, too young
For greed,—shall you have wreaths and wreaths again,—
Prophet and Gospel of our English tongue!

E. W. HIS THAMESEIDOS

By F. M. PADELFORD

READERS of Spenser would probably agree that two of the most delightful episodes in the *Faerie Queene* are the marriage of the Thames and the Medway in Book IV and the Irish river myths in the Cantos of Mutabilitie. In his careful paper entitled "Spenser's English Rivers" Professor Osgood has shown that the earlier of these episodes, with its emphasis upon topography and archæology, was indebted to William Harrison's additions to *Holinshed,* to Camden's *Britannia,* and presumably to three poems, Leland's Latin poem, the *Cyngea Cantio,* 1545; Vallan's *The Two Swans,* 1590; and another Latin poem, *De Connubio Tamis et Isis,* ninety-three verses of which survive in the *Britannia* and which was probably by Camden himself. In connection with these poems Professor Osgood remarks that "such passages as the eleventh canto or the Fourth Book and the *Prothalamion* are but examples—preëminent of course—of certain types of poems not uncommon in their time." It is one of these neglected poems that I wish to discuss, a poem that is primarily mythical, and in that respect much closer to the river passages in the Cantos of Mutabilitie than to the marriage of the Thames and the Medway.

The title-page of this poem, copies of which are to be found in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the library of Sir R. L. Harmsworth and the Huntington Library, reads as follows: "E. W. his Thameseidos. Deuided into three Bookes, or Cantos. Nunquam stigias init ad umbras inclita virtus. At London. Printed by W. W[hite] for Simon Waterson. 1600." The volume is a quarto and the poem runs through signature F 4.

The little volume is briefly noted by Sir Edgerton Bridges in *Censura Literaria* 2.168, who observes that "The author of this scarce poem is undecyphered by any dedicatory prefix of his own, or by any commendatory tribute from others; though he seems not to have been undeserving of a patron, nor his work of contemporary praise. Its chief defect appears to be, that the fables it contains too nearly resemble Ovidian Metamorphoses; and its obvious merit is,

that it afforded a model for Drayton to enlarge upon in his *Polyolbion.*" This is followed by seventeen lines from the opening canto descriptive of the personified Thames and the ten-line apostrophe to Elizabeth from the second canto.

The poem is considered, presumably in detail, in an unpublished thesis by Hilda Taylor at the University of Chicago, entitled *Topographical Poetry in England During the Renaissance.* The abstract of the thesis summarizes the poem as follows: "An obscure but not unattractive poem of unknown authorship is entitled *E. W. His Thameseidos.* It is of interest because it may have imitated Spenser and influenced Drayton, and it combines with pastoral conventions so many of those of topographical poetry that it serves as a summary of the subject. It is the story of Neptune's unsuccessful pursuit of the chaste 'Thame' or 'Isis' or 'Thamesis,' as she is called by turns, and the ravishing of her nymph Medway by a cruel satyr. After Medway has been banished by the indignant Thamesis, and has almost betrayed the latter into the power of Neptune, she is herself transformed into the river of the same name. In this poem are several examples of enumerative description and of the lament, including a typical pastoral elegy, and a veiled account of contemporary events in the manner of many eclogues."*

Dr. Taylor is somewhat over-cautious in stating that the poem "may have imitated Spenser," for, aside from the general theme, it shows the specific influence of Spenser from time to time in the phrasing.

In the first canto Thamesis, "the fairest Queene on earth," clad in white, repairs to a meadow with her nymphs, "To solemnize her annual day of birth." In her hand she carries a maund, "rarely painted, and adorned with gold," given to Doris by Ocean when he wedded her, and by her presented in turn to her daughter Thamesis. It is elaborately painted with mythological "histories," especially those relating to the sea-gods. On one side of the meadow is a forest; on the other a cool cave, from the foot of which emerges a stream. Isis [Thamesis] and Lea resort to the shade of a beech tree, while Colne, Kenet and Chrew go to gather flowers,

* *University of Chicago Abstracts of Theses,* Humanistic Series 5 (1926-7), 496-7.

each hauing in her hand,
To fill with precious flowers a little maund.

For there were Roses with Virmilion died,
Coole Daisies, and white Lillies; Summers pride:
The Marigold, that doth effect the Sunne,
Hiding her beautie when his light is gonne:
The Bee alluring Thime, the sweete Costmarie,
Gray Lauender, and strong senting Rosemarie,
And what else might be pleasing to the view,
Within this faire and princely Meddow grew: (A4r, ls. 27-34)

This passage recalls the second stanza of the *Prothalamion,* in which "a flock of nymphes," each carrying "a little wicker basket," gather violets, daisies, lilies, primroses and "vermeil roses", but more specifically the flower epithets in *Muiopotmos* 187-202 [italics mine]:

The wholesome Saulge, and *Lauender still gray,*
Ranke smelling Rue, and Cummin good for eyes,
The Roses raigning in the pride of May,
Sharpe Isope, good for greene wounds remedies,
Faire Marigoldes, and *Bees alluring Thime,*
Sweet Marioram, and Daysies decking prime.

. . . . . .

And whatso else of vertue good or ill
Grewe in this Gardin, fetcht from farre away,

While the description of the trees in the forest (A3v, ls. 9ff.) resembles that in the *Fairie Queene* 1.1.8-9, it obviously follows the description in the *Parliament of Foules* 176-182,, which was also Spenser's source.

As Isis and Lea rest in the shade, they hear the plaint of a shepherd, who laments his "Icarian" ambition, his desire for fame, and the decline of his flocks occasioned by the greed of Chrusophilus.

The second and third cantos relate the efforts of Neptune to win the love of Isis. In the second Neptune, having heard of the beauty of Isis, leaves the Mediterranean and goes "to seeke the faire commended Queene." He finds her "by her siluer slyding streames," a phrase which recalls the "silver-streaming Thames" of *Prothalamion* 11 and the "soft sliding Breane" of *Faerie Queene* 4.11.29.6, but though Cupid assists him by striking Isis with "a leaden headed dart," she repels his advances, having vowed to die a maid.

Meantime Medwaie, a nymph of Isis, is violated by a satyr. When Isis discovers her condition, she banishes her. Wandering aimlessly, Medwaie comes upon a hermit who befriends her in his cell, a situation that may have been suggested by the hermit who befriended the unfortunate Serena (*Faerie Queen* 6.5.34ff., 6, 1-15). One day, to ease her grief, she walks through a shady wood hard by, and on the bank of a little river espies an opening in "a stonie Rocke." Entering this, she descends into a spacious hall, far under ground, purportedly the work of Merlin, created at the behest of "a Lady of the lake." On one wall are depicted figures from early British history (Dlr, ls. 1-17):

> On one side, the last man bore name of King,
> In *Brutes* long raigning race, who thought to bring
> From *Armorick* an Host of valiant men,
> To foyle the *Saxons,* that had footing then
> In *Brittaine* tane, had not him Visions stayde,
> That wild to *Rome* his Iorney should be made.
> There was that *Rhodericke,* the great surnamde,
> Who for deuiding *Wales,* was highly famde:
> And *Howel Dha,* who auncient laws corrected,
> And Officers to see right done, elected:
> With *Griffeth Conon,* who victorious raigned
> Full fiftie yeeres; and when he peace had gayned
> Vnto his Countrey, dyed: And *Llewelline,*
> The braue last Prince of auncient *Brittish* line;
> Whose life by them whom he did trust, betrayde;
> Alterd the gouernment which they had swayde
> Two thousand and foure hundred yeeres and od.

This episode certainly suggests the visit of Britomart and Glauce to the abode of Merlin, where the prophet instructed them in the ancient history of Britain. The passage quoted closely parallels *Faerie Queene* 3.3.40-41, 45, though both Spenser and E. W. have a common source in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* 12.17, since E. W. mentions certain details not found in Spenser. The two poets, however, compress their material in much the same way.

On the other wall are depicted noblemen and fair ladies, notably those of Elizabeth's reign. To another room, which contains the pictures "Of those that Englands royall Crowne should weare," Medwaie cannot gain access, but

through the keyhole sees the likeness of Elizabeth. Thus the historical display, as in the *Faerie Queene* 3.3.49, finds its culmination in the "royall Virgin."

Leaving the enchanted palace, Medwaie is shortly delivered of a babe, and as she bewails her cruel lot is overheard by Neptune. Now Neptune had visited the cave of Proteus to solicit his aid in winning the heart of Isis, but it was beyond the power of Proteus to make an unwilling mind thrall to love. The cave of Proteus is described as follows (D2v, ls. 25-30):

> Deepe in the Ocean, where yet neuer ground,
> By longest fadome line could ere be found:*
> Vnder a hollow Rocke, ther is a vault,
> By often beating of great Billowes wrought:
> So that it seemes to be the noble act,
> Of some rare Mason, or skild Architect:

This description is obviously borrowed from the corresponding description of the cave of Proteus in the *Faerie Queene* 3.8.37.1-7:

> His bowre is in the bottome of the maine,
> Vnder a mightie rocke, gainst which doe raue
> The roaring billowes in their proud disdaine,
> That with the angry working of the waue
> Therein is eaten out an hollow caue,
> That seemes rough Masons hand with engines keene
> Had long while laboured it to engraue.

Neptune sees in the grief and resentment of Medwaie the means whereby he might gain access to Isis, and in return for such information falsely promises to bestow on her the comeliest of the sea-gods as a husband. Medwaie thereupon tells him where Isis may be found, and the god straightway leaves her to lament his treachery.

The third canto opens with observations on "our owne ore-bold seueritie," which furnishes opportunity to our foes. Thus Thamesis had brought upon herself the advances of Neptune. Neptune discovers her in the meadow among her nymphs, only to see her flee his presence (Elr, 27—Elv, l.4):

* This phrasing was of course suggested by *I Henry IV*, 1.3.204; cf. also *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, Induction 96-100.

> Not halfe so fast distressed *Florimel*
> Fled from the sight of that *Hiena* fell,
> Which the dispightful Witch after her sent,
> To bring her backe; and her in peeces rent.
> Nor halfe so fast from *Phoebus Daphne* fled,
> As Isis now, to saue her maydenhead.

The first four lines refer to the well-known episode in the *Faerie Queene* 3.7.6ff, where the Witch creates a fell beast, "likest it to an hyena," to recover Florimel for her base son, and the lines quoted are adapted from stanza 26, ls. 1-5:

> Not halfe so fast the wicked *Myrrha* fled
> From dread of her reuenging fathers hond:
> Nor halfe so fast to saue her maindenhed,
> Fled fearefull *Daphne* on th' *Ægaean* strond,
> As Florimell fled from that Monster yond,

As Thamesis flees (E2v, ls. 17-8)

> her gold haire now fallen loose and slacke,
> At euery step did waue behinde her backe:

So Florimel, earlier in Book Three (1.16.3-4), fleeing from Prince Arthur:

> And her faire yellow locks behind her flew,
> Loosely disperst with puffe of euery blast:

The god pursues the lovely maid, trying in vain to win her favor. Finding that his arguments and blandishments come to naught, he basely resorts to Æolus, who consents to give his brother the aid of the winds. Thereupon the winds assail Thamesis "like fierce Dogges", forcing her once more to flee. The nymphs, robbed of their delight, pour forth a lament in which they are joined by

> The light foote *Fairies,* and th' *Oreades,*
> The *Dryads, Hamadriads,* and the *Naiades,*

This recalls two stanzas of the lament of Alcyon (*Daphnaida* 323-343); and one line (F2r, l.27),

> Let little Birdes be silent on your spray,

is definitely adapted from line 330 of Spenser's poem:

> Let birds be silent on the naked spray.

In her extremity Thamesis calls upon great Jove, and the Thunderer hears her prayer and sends Mercury to Æolus to recall the winds, the poem closing as the skies once more become clear.

It must now be evident that the author of the *Thameseidos,* while finding his original inspiration in Ovid, was influenced by Spenser, both in episode and diction; yet he was no slavish imitator and produced a rather mellifluous poem which merits recognition in its own right.

The identification of E. W. with a certain Edward Wilkinson by the editors of the *Short-Title Catalogue* find its probable justification in a poem by Edward Wilkinson, the title-page of which reads as follows: "Isahacs Inheritance; dew to our high and mightie Prince, Iames the Sixt of Scotland, of England, France and Ireland the First. by E. W. Fors vnita valet. At London Imprinted for John Harrison, dwelling at Pater-noster rowe at the signe of the Vnicorne and Bible. 1603." This poem, extant in the unique copy at the Huntington Library, is dedicated by Edward Wilkinson "To the right worshipfull the Maister, Maister-wardens, assistance, and other the brethren of the most worshipfull societie of the Drapers in London."

The poem consists of forty-five stanzas, with the rhyme scheme a b a b a b c c. The first twenty-six stanzas trace the history of Britain from "our warlick *Brute*" to the reign of Mulmutius, who united the realm. Stanzas 27-8 read as follows:

> *England,* and *Scotland, Cornewall, Wales* and all
> Stands ioyntly now a *Britaine;* And as then
> A wise *Mulmutius* from the sunnes downe-fall,
> Shone as a bright starre to our countrimen,
> Deliuering them from that their present thrall,
> Renuing their full libertie againe,
> Swaging their outrages for gouernment,
> And making lawes to serue his good intent.
>
> So shone there lately (*Ioue* grant it long to shine)
> A faire transplendant commit from the North,
> Which warm'd our hartes, when Sunne gan to decline
> And cruell tempests like were to break forth,
> As fearefull hartes praesaging did deuine,
> This bright starre is a gemme of noble worth,
> *Iames* our dread soueraigne, glory of our age,
> Of vs poore Orphanes tooke the patronage.

The remainder of the poem is devoted to praise of the Tudors and of the royal house of Scotland and a prayer for the new sovereign. The concluding stanzas justify the title:

> So shall we boast a *Steward* iust thou hast,
> And ioy (though first we greeu'd) at our late change,
> The sweete milke of thy Gospell we shall taste,
> As earst we ha' done, and not in errours range.
> So shall we obtaine by mercie at the last
> Thy heauenly *Sion:* then wilt thou not estrange
> Thy face from vs, but louingly embrace
> Thy chosen flocke, receiuing vs to grace.
>
> And for the interim we shall dayly pray,
> Since in this land of promise thou hast plac'd him,
> He and his off-spring neuer may decay:
> Since with an *Isahacs* dowrie thou hast grac'd him,
> Let him and his still flourish like the Baye,
> Wither all those that euer haue defac'd him:
> And *Nestor*-like yeeres may let him see,
> Whilst we his true and loyall subjects be.*

The fact that the two poems deal with early British history is strong presumptive evidence that the E. W. who wrote the *Thameseidos* in 1600 and the Edward Wilkinson who wrote *Isahacs Inheritance* in 1603 are the same individual. I have been unable to discover who Edward Wilkinson was. According to Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* 4.410, one man of this name matriculated pensioner from St. John's *c.* 1596, and another matriculated pensioner from the same college, Michelmas 1601. The poet may have been one of these, an ambitious young collegian.

University of Washington,
Seattle.

* For courteous permission to quote the four stanzas from *Isahacs Inheritance,* I am indebted to the Huntington Library.

"RUNAWAYS EYES" AGAIN

By I. J. KAPSTEIN

AN appendix of some thirty pages in the *Variorum* edition of *Romeo and Juliet*[1] bears witness to the efforts of students of Shakspere to explain the meaning of the phrase *runaways eyes may wink* in the speech in which Juliet, newly wed and awaiting the coming of Romeo to her balcony, says:

> Spread thy close curtain, love-performing night,
> That runaways eyes may wink, and Romeo
> Leap to these arms, untalk'd of and unseen, (III, ii, 5-7)

Wink has here the common Elizabethan meaning of "close" or "shut", but for *runaways*[2] numerous emendations have been suggested. The *Variorum* cites the following emendations proposed during the last two centuries: *Rumour's* eyes, *runagate's* eyes, *Renommé's* eyes, *unawares* eyes, *rude day's* eyes, *soon day's* eyes, *Luna's* eyes, *enemies'* eyes, *roving* eyes, *yonder* eyes, *envious* eyes, *rumourer's* eyes, *noonday's* eyes, *sunny day's* eyes, *Cynthia's* eyes, *sun-awake's* eyes, *no man's* eyes, *runaway spies, curious* eyes, and *sun-aweary* eyes. "That the proposed substitutes are not happy," says Kellner,[3] "is admitted on all hands." Modern editors, wary of emendation generally, have not accepted any of the suggested readings.

Commentators and editors who have been content with *runaways* have put forward various glosses. *Runaways eyes* has been taken to stand figuratively for the night's eyes, the day's eyes, the sun's eyes, the stars, Romeo's eyes, Juliet's eyes, and Cupid's eyes, but no one of these glosses has been unanimously accepted either, perhaps because one seems as good as another, or perhaps because as glosses they all require somewhat elaborate glossing themselves.

Most modern editors, nearly all confessing their uncertainty of its meaning, have taken the word without emenda-

---

[1] H. H. Furness, *15th ed.*, Philadelphia, 1913.

[2] *Runaways* is the reading of all the quartos, except Q1 in which the sentence itself does not appear, and of all the folios: *runnawayes* Q2, 3; *run-awayes* Q4, 5, F1; *run-awaies* F2, 3; *run-aways* F4.

[3] L. Kellner, *Restoring Shakespeare,* London, 1925, p. 94.

tion,[4] some assuming it to stand metaphorically for the sun,[5] others attaching to it (with some straining of its modern primary denotation) the meaning of "vagabond" or "wanderer'.[6] Two lexicographers of Shakspere have ventured more explicit definitions, Schmidt[7] interpreting it as "eavesdroppers rambling about the streets at night to spy out the doings of others", and Foster[8] as "one incessantly running about, a Paul Pry, a prying busybody". Cunliffe[9] states it to be "a much disputed word", and Onions[10] takes it to mean "vagabond" or "wanderer". The objection to all of these glosses is that they are suspiciously *ex post facto*. Not only is proof lacking of an Elizabethan practice of wandering about at night and spying on others; it is the more difficult to see why people should be wandering about in the orchard on which Juliet's balcony faces, particularly since Juliet has already informed us "that the orchard walls are high and hard to climb." (II, ii, 63.)

This paper does not pretend to clear up the problem presented by *runaways* eyes; its conclusions are regarded as tentative. Perhaps its chief claim to notice rests only on the fact that it attempts an explanation of the phrase without resorting to emendation, without attemping to squeeze a new metaphor out of it, and without straining its modern meaning to prove an Elizabethan one. In brief, it tries to show that in Shakspere's time, *runaway,* in addition to its modern meaning, had the general, sometimes vague, signification, since forgotten, of "betrayer" or "traitor", and that if it did not specifically mean these, it had at least the connotation of "a treacherous person; a rascal characterized by treachery."[11]

---

[4] Given as *runaway's* by the following editors: I. Gollancz, *The Temple Edition,* 1894; E. Dowden, *The Arden Edition,* 1899; W. J. Craig, *The Oxford Edition,* 1904; W. A. Neilson, *The Cambridge Poets,* 1906; S. Lee, *The Renaissance Edition,* 1906-1908; W. A. Neilson and A. H. Thorndike, *The Tudor Shakespeare,* VTVV-VTVC.

Given as *runaways'* by the following: W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright, *The Globe Edition,* 1864; W. J. Rolfe, The American Book Co., 1871; C. H. Herford, *The Eversley Edition,* 1899-1900; W. H. Durham, *The Yale Shakespeare,* 1917.

[5] So taken by Gollancz, Dowden, Neilson and Thorndike, Durham.

[6] So glossed by Rolfe, Lee, Herford.

[7] A. Schmidt, *Shakespeare-Lexikon,* Berlin, 1894.

[8] J. Foster, *A Shakespeare Word-Book,* London, 1908.

[9] R. J. Cunliffe, *A New Shakespearean Dictionary,* London, 1910.

[10] C. T. Onions, *A Shakespeare Glossary,* Oxford, 1911.

[11] In accordance with this definition and with the syntax of the sentence, *runaways* is hereafter taken to be the plural possessive *runaways'*.

The context of *runaways' eyes* supports such an interpretation of its meaning. Juliet's anxiety that Romeo be "untalk'd of and unseen" reveals her fear of betrayal, a betrayal, a fear that has already been indicated in the second scene of Act II:

> *Juliet:* How cam'st thou hither, tell me, and wherefore?
> The orchard walls are high and hard to climb,
> And the place death, considering who thou art,
> if any of my kinsmen find thee here.
> . . . . . .
> If they do see thee, they will murder thee.
> . . . . . .
> I would not for the world they saw thee here. (II. 62-74)

With Juliet's fear of betrayal in mind, the passage may be parphrased:

> Spread thy close curtain, love-performing night, so that the eyes of those who might betray us may close, and Romeo may leap to these arms untalked of and unseen.

Aside from the context, however, this gloss is suggested because *runaway* was perhaps derived by popular etymology from its contemporary *runagage,* a popular alteration in its turn of late ME *renegate,* "an apostate", "a renegade", "a deserter". According to Skeat,[12] *renegate* was derived from OF *renegate,* "an apostate", while the OED records it as formed from "ad. med. L. *renegat-us,* subst. use of pa. pple. of *renegare*". Whatever its source, it appears that from the time *renegate* came into the language in the 14th century, it held strongly up through the 16th century to what appears to have been its primary signification, "a traitor to, or betrayer of, one's religion",—yet did so, not in the sense of one's denying one's religion, as its root *neg* originally signified, but, under the pressure of popular etymology, in the sense of one's running agate from, *i.e.,* running away from, one's religion. *Ren,* taken mistakenly to be the first element of the word, was assumed to be the common verb *run,* occurring frequently in ME as *ren; egate,* taken as the second element, was construed to be the *ME* adverb *agate,* made, according to the OED, from the phrase

[12] *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language,* Oxford, 1882.

on gate, meaning "on the way", *gate* being derived from ON *gata,* "a road, path, or way". *Gate* was in common use in the Northern dialects where it appears in *algate(s), anothergate(s), howgate(s), manygate(s), nogate(s), othergate(s), sogate(s), thusgate(s),* and is still found in the Northern dialects. *Renegate,* therefore, became *runagate.*

But *agate* was comparatively a newcomer to thet language and was localized in use. For some hundreds of years before the appearance of *agate* in the 13th century, there had existed the word *away,* more widely known and used, and formed in exactly the same manner from the OE phrase *on weg,* meaning "on the road, path, or way." Again, by the process of folk-etymology, *away,* as the more common and familiar form in the Midland dialects, supplanted the *agate* of *runagate* to produce the 16th century *runaway,* taken popularly, no doubt, to be a compound of *run* and *away,* but still retaining the primary meaning of *renegate* and runagate, "a religious traitor", and in contemporaneous use with the other two.

That *runaway* was by popular etymology an alteration of *runagate,* and not made originally and independently from the verb *run* and the adverb *away,* is borne out by several facts. First, while the two elements *run* and *away* were extremely common in ME as separate words, they are not found in the compound *runaway* before the 16th century; that is to say, not before *runagate* existed. Second, the verb itself *to run away* was used as early as 1380, but the noun *runaway* (*renawaye*) does not occur before 1515. Third, while the noun *runaway* has signified "an apostate", the verb *to run away* has never meant "to forsake one's religion." Fourth, very few words have the terminal element *away,* and of these only one, *castaway,* was formed in the 16th century; others, such as *getaway, hideaway, stowaway, throwaway,* etc., are 19th and 20th century coinages.

Yet even if this etymological kinship did not exist and *runagate* and *runaway* were made independently, the two words had such similarities of sound and form that they in terchanged their meanings and were used synonymously by the Elizabethans. Cotgrave,[13] for example, in glossing the

---

[13] Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionary of the French and English Tongues,* London, 1611.

French word *fugitif,* gives: "Fugitive; gadding, flitting, *run-away, runagate*".[14] Their semantic identity is fully shown by a comparison of their various definitions as given by the OED. Thus *runagate* is given as: "1. An apostate. *Obs.*", with three examples of its use in this sense before 1600:

> *c* 1530 *Exam. W. Thorpe* (Tindale) G iij, The lustie lyuyng and the slyding fro the treuth of these runagates shall be to me . . . an example [etc.]. 1554 *Lydgate's Bochas* VIII. xiii. 185 An Idolater and runneagate in dede. 1589 Nashe *Martin Marprelate* Wks. (Grosart) I, 156 Lucian the Atheist, was neuer so irreligious; nor euer Iulian the runnagate so blasphemous.

Runaway, likewise, is glossed in the OED: "I. 1. + b. An apostate, a renegade. *Obs.,*" and the OED cites:

> 1561 T. Norton *Calvin's Inst.* IV. 5 He compteth him for a traiterous runne away and forsaker of religion. 1583 Babington *Commandm.* (1590) 103 An heretike hee is, a runneaway from the church.

In their more general meanings also both words are glossed alike by the OED. *Runagate* is given as: "2 a deserter, fugitive, runaway";

> *a* 1548 Hall *Chron. Rich. III,* 54 b, A campaigne of traytors, thefes, outlawes and ronneagates. 1576 Fleming *Panopl. Epist.* 128 It is reported to me, that your clearke or Secretarie, hath plaied the fugitiue or runnagate. 1600 Holland *Livy* XXIII. 480 If he went to Rome, ... he should be sooner lodged there in prison like a fugitive runagate, than entertained . . . . for a friend.

Runaway is glossed: "I. 1. One who runs away; a fugitive, a deserter;

> *c* 1515 *Cocke Lorrell's B.* 5 Her husbonde dwelleth . . . . Nexte house to Robin renewaye. 1547 *Act I Edw. VI,* c. 3 2 The same Iustices . . . . shall adiudge the loyterer and run away to be the said masters slaue for euer. 1589 Greene *Menaphon* (Arb.) 57 What are you, sir, ... that deale thus with me by interrogatories, as if I were some runne away?

Since both the meanings of *runaway* given by the OED are identical with those given for *runagate,* it appears that the two words were regarded by the Elizabethans as identical. If, for *runagate,* the OED had given the gloss herein

[14] My italics.

suggested of "a treacherous rogue", there would perhaps be no difficulty in accepting this gloss for *runaway* also, on the basis of their similarity in their other meanings. Yet the fact that it does not offer the proposed gloss for either word does not eliminate the possibility of its aptness. For, arguing first *a priori,* since *runagate* originally meant "a religious traitor", it can be assumed that its first extension of meaning would be to signify "a traitor" generally, and thereafter, by a further generalization of meaning, to signify "a fugitive, deserter, or runaway". This is to say, that between the first specific meaning of "a religious traitor, one who runs away from his faith", and the last and most general meaning of *runagate* or *runaway,* simply, "one who runs away", there may well have been a middle ground of meaning where *runagate* and *runaway* had the general signification of "a traitor"; or where, at least, they may have carried a definite connotation of treachery, so that *runagate* or *runaway* could have meant "one who betrays by running away", and by a further slight generalization "a treacherous person". This view is strengthened by the fact that *runagate,* according to the OED was "in common use from *c* 1550 to 1700, sometimes as a vague term of abuse", thus indicating that there was a generalization of meaning, and by the further fact that *renegate,* from which *runagate* was altered, had undergone such an extension of meaning, the OED glossing *renegate* as "a renegade, deserter". There is further support of this view in the semantic history of *renegade,* which, made from Sp. *renegado* in the 16th century, had first the specific meaning, as given by the OED, of "an apostate from any form of religious faith, esp. a Christian who becomes a Mohammedan", but which by the 17th century had acquired its generalized modern meaning as given in the OED, "one who deserts a party, person, or principle, in favour of another; a turn-coat". Finally, it should be noted that Cotgrave[15] glosses French *deserteur* as "a formsaker, stragler, fugitive; *runneaway; one that abandoneth his friend, cause, or country*",[16] strong proof of *runaway's* connotation of treachery in the Elizabethan vocabulary.

---

[15] *Op. cit.*

[16] My italics.

With these facts in mind, it is not difficult to gloss both *runagate* and *runaway* as connoting "a treacherous rascal" in the following quotations from the OED illustrating the substantival, attributive, and adjectival uses of the words in the significations previously noted above.

> *Runagate:* *a* 1548 Hall *Chron., Rich. III* 54 b, A compaigne of traytors, thefes, outlawes and ronneagates; . . . . 1576 Fleming *Panopl. Epist.* 128 It is reported to me, that your clearke or Secretarie, hath plaied the fugitive, or runnagate; . . . . 1594 Nashe *Unfort. Trav. Wks.* (Grosart) V 141 The first traueller was Cayn, and hee was called a vagabond runnagate on the face of the earth; . . . . 1600 Holland *Livy* XXIII. 480 If he went to Rome, ... he should bee sooner lodged there in prison like a fugitive runagate, than entertained . . . . for a friend; . . . . 1641 Milton *Reform.* II. Wks. 1851 III. 55 Commit securely to true wisdome the vanquishing and uncasing of craft and suttletie, which are but her two runnagates; . . . . 1648 Gage *West End.* 3 Whosoever . . . . runagate-like shall return, may be constrained to return again to the Indies; . . . . 1653 R. Sanders *Physiogn., Moles* 25 He is a runnagate fugitive, and wanders out of his native country; . . . . 1674 Milton *Hist. Moscovia Wks.* 1851 VIII. 498 Many Letters and Messengers therupon were sent from Boris into Poland . . . . to acquaint them who the Runnagate was.

> *Runaway:* 1547 *Act I Edw. VI,* c.3 The same Iustices . . . . shall adiudge the loyterer and run away to be the said masters slave for euer;; . . . . 1548 *Patten Expéd.* Scotl. M iiij, A Syllogisim thus formed of such a theuing major, a runaway minor, and a trayterous consequent; . . . . 1612 J. Davies (Heref.) *Muse's Sacrifice* Wks. (Grosart) II. 50/2 Riches, but Runnawayes; Fauours, but lyes; . . . . *a* 1616 Beaum. & Fl. *Queen of Corinth* V. ii, A Slave To beastly passions, a Fugitive, And run away from virtue; . . . . 1617 Moryson *Itin.* II. 78 Private Captaines gave pasportes to run awaies; . . . . 1655 Manley *Grotius' Low-C. Wars* 614 Many Runaways from them affirmed, They had not tasted a bit of Bread in five days.

Shakspere himself in two places uses *runagate* in the sense of a traitor or treacherous rogue: in *Cymbeline,* when Iachimo is trying to persuade Imogen that Leonatus has been unfaithful to her,

> I dedicate myself to your sweet pleasure,
> More noble than that runagate to your bed. (I, vi, 137)

and in *Richard III,* when Stanley tells King Richard that the rebel Richmond is on the seas and Richard replies,

> There let him sink, and be the seas on him!
> White-livered runagate; what doth he there? (Iv, iv, 465)

Shakspere uses *runaway* also in contexts whose general sense is derogatory or abusive, so that the connotation of treachery hovers about the word: in *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* for example, where Demetrius, pursuing Lysander, cries,

> Lysander! speak again.
> Thou runaway, thou coward, art thou fled? (III, ii, 404-405)

and in *Richard III,* where the King describes Richmond's army as

> A sort of vagabonds, rascals, and runaways (V, iii, 317).

Here, *runaways,* most clearly, seems to have been taken by Shakspere both in form and meaning as identical with *runagates,* for the passage in Holinshed upon which Shakspere based Richard's speech reads:

> a companie of traitors, theues, outlawes, and runnagates of our own nation.[17]

In summary, there seems to be fair justification for attributing to *runaway* the meaning of "a treacherous rascal" on the basis of its context, its possible etymological connection with *renegate* and *runagate,* and its semantic identity, when Shakspere wrote *Romeo and Juliet,* with *renegate, renegade,* and *runagate.*

Brown University,
Providence, R. I.

[17] Allardyce and Josephine Nicoll, eds., *Holinshed's Chronicles as Used in Shakespeare's Plays,* London, 1927, p. 171.

SPENSER AS A FABULIST

By LOUIS S. FRIEDLAND

NO other poet of his day embraced so large and varied a number of poetic *genres* as did Spenser. It is to be expected, therefore, that he would not neglect the Fable, that minor but serviceable literary type.

Spenser's addiction to allegory and to the instructive-moralizing vein led him by natural steps to the fable, since the fable has been defined as "a short humorous allegorical tale, in which animals [and inanimate objects] act in such a way as to illustrate a simple moral truth or inculcate a wise maxim."[1] At least one Elizabethan writer calls attention to the allegorical and moralizing 'cast' of the fable: "The Poet," says Sir Philip Sidney, "is indeed the right Popular Philosopher, whereof *Esops* tales give proofe: whose pretty Allegories, stealing under the formall tales of Beastes, make many, more beastly than Beasts, begin to heare the sound of vertue from these dumb speakers."[2]

One other reason may be mentioned for Spenser's interest in the fable. From of old this humble *genre* has borne a flavor of mild satire;[3] hence, in those of his (non-epic) poems which are concerned to some extent with contemporary affairs, Spenser now and again points a satiric intention by means of the Aesopic fable. I suspect that not enough critical attention has been bestowed upon the satiric strain which runs pleasantly through Spenser's works; a tendency to a non-splenetic variety of satire is one of Spenser's characteristic traits. His mind held in solution the dream-like, unworldly humor of Guillaume de Lorris com-

---

[1] Joseph Jacobs, *The Fables of Aesop* (Carabas Library, Lond., 1889, vols. 4, 5), I. 205. Volume I is Introductory, Volume II is a reprint of Caxton's edition of 1484. Other definitions are cited in Thomas Newbigging, *Fables and Fabulists* (N. Y., n. d.), chapters 1-3 (Walter Pater, etc.); H. T. Archibald, *The Fable as a Stylistic Test in Classical Greek Literature* (Baltimore, 1912), pp. 4-5; L. Hirsch, *Die Fabel* (Göthen,, 1894); G. F. Lessing, *Sämmtliche Schriften* (Stuttgart, 1886 ff.), VII. 429; A. C. M. Robert, *Fables inédites,* etc. (Paris, 1825), I. xix-xx; Mahlon E. Smith, "The Fable and Kindred Forms," *Journal Eng. and Germ. Philol.* XIV (1915), 529; *Idem,* "A Classification for Fables, etc.," *Modern Philology* XV (1917), 479; Max Staege, *Die Geschichte der deutschen Fabel-theorie* (Bern, 1929), containing an important bibliography of German theory, Lessing's in especial.

[2] *An Apologie for Poetrie* (Elizab. Critical Essays, ed. G. L. Smith), Oxford, 1904. I. 167: cf. pp. 185, 192.

[3] A quality not always included in definitions of the Fable, but of first importance. Jacob Grimm dwells on it in his *Reinhart Fuchs* (Berlin, 1834), pp. xi-xii, cclix.

bined with a dash of the wide-awake bitters of Jean de Meung. Upon such a temperament the fable exercises a peculiar fascination.

Aesop returned with the rebirth of humanist learning. He had never been long absent. Accredited to the ages, he was equally at home in Europe during the medieval centuries and in the later times of enlightenment. The Greek fables were an inescapable part of that medievalism which proved so enticing to Spenser and affected him so profoundly. In the national literatures of the Middle Ages, whether written in Latin or in the vernaculars, Aesop held an honored place.[4] A thousand versions and forms of the fable give attestation to an abiding interest; the indubitably moral trend of the apologue[5] brought it within the scope of clerical teaching and doctrine; together with the Parables of the Old and the New Testament[6] the fables attributed to the Greek slave were used in sermon and exhortation to drive home a lesson or make men repent of wicked ways; for clerical use, also, were the collections of exempla,[7] closely allied to the fable and embodying many instructive tales of animals and plants; the beast-epic—the Reynard cycle in particular—found room for the fable,[8] which, in the medieval mind, seemed to be connected with the bestiaries, lapidaries, and other works setting forth the strange ways of fish, fowl, beast, plant, precious stones, and the

---

[4] Jacobs, *op. cit.*, I., *passim;* Léopold Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins,* etc., 5 vols. (Paris, 1893-99); *Recueil général des Isopets* (Société des anc. textes fr., 82^{1-2}, Paris, 1929-30, 2 vols.); K. McKenzie and W. A. Oldfather, *Ysopet-Avionnet. The Latin and French Texts* (Univers. of Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit. no. 4, 1919). During the middle ages *Aesop* was one of the *eight moral treatises* most highly regarded. See, Arthur Tilley, *Studies in the French Renaissance* (Camb., Eng., 1922), p. 7.

[5] I use this word as interchangeable with "fable".

[6] Elias Kalischer, *Parabel u. Fabel bei den alten Hebräern* (Berlin, n. d.).

[7] Article on *Beast-Fables* (G. L. Kittredge) and on *Exempla-Books* (T. F. Crane) in *Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia* (N. Y., 1896); T. F. Crane, *The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry* (Lond., 1890); Joseph A. Mosher, *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Lit. of England* (N. Y., 1911): "Fables . . . were frequently considered as exempla by mediaeval collectors and preachers." (p. 6); A. C. M. Robert, *op. cit.*, I. xxxvi; S. Bæring Gould, *Post-mediaeval Preachers* (Lond., 1865); G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Mediaeval England* (Camb., Eng., 1933), pp. 179, 180, 204-09, and *passim.*

[8] Henri Carnoy, *Contes d'animaux dans les Romans du Renart* (Paris, 1889); Friedrich Bangert, *Die Tiere im altfranzösischen epos* (Ausgaben u. Abhandlungen æus . . . der Roman. Phil., XXXIV, 1885); Hermann Class, *Auffassung u. darstellung der tierwelt im Franz. Roman de Renart* (Tübingen, 1910); Gustaf Wüster, *Die Tiere in der altfranz. Literatur* (Göttingen, 1916).

other marvels of Nature. No less than in "classic" ages men lived under despotic or tyrannic forms of government, and plain-speaking was a perilous indulgence. How better may one clothe one's thought, at once hiding and revealing it, than by the use of the fable? The wrongs that cried out to be righted, the oppression against which it was death to fulminate openly, the vices that would be the better for scourging, the social follies and individual foibles that invited reproof or castigation,—the "cloaked" fable stood ready at hand to aid the satirist, the poet, the moralist, the reformer, the dissenter. In this manner it played its part in the life and literature of court and castle; at the same time, linked with the humble adage, it was recounted in the peasant's hut and the servant's hall.

The sixteenth century, in its somewhat disorganized and non-eclectic revival of classical learning, was not inclined to disown the fable as a literary mode. However humble, Aesop had, in Renaissance view, the prestige of belonging to "the golden age",[9] as well as the approval given him by Aristotle, Plato, Plutarch, Lucian, Horace, and so many others of ancient times, who had not scorned the lowly fable and whose example was law.[10] In the chief countries of Europe the apologues were translated into the vernacular and adapted afresh in Latin versions; new fables were composed in the accepted tradition. Poets, pamphleteers, and authors of books cited or referred to this or the other fable by Aesop in the offhand manner which bespoke familiarity and assumed ready comprehension, though their almost invariable custom of coupling the name, Aesop, with the fable alluded to, suggests that even here they could not shake off that sense of insecurity and "novelty" so apparent in Renaissance dealings with the newly acquired literatures of Greece and Rome. Compilers and illustrators of emblem-books levied freely upon Aesopic literature, so peculiarly

---

[9] Gabriel Harvey, *Marginalia* ed. G. C. Moore Smith (Stratford on Avon, 1913), p. 124.

[10] Dora Bieber, *Studien zur gesch. der Fabel* (Berlin, 1906); J. Jacobs, *op. cit.;* Robert, *op. cit.;* H. T. Archibald, *op. cit.;* Walter Wienert, *Die Typen der Griechisch-Römischen Fabel* (FF Communications, no. 56, Helsinki, 1925); H. T. Archibald, "The Fable in Archilochus, Herodotus, Livy, and Horace" (*Trans. of Amer. Philol. Ass'n,* XXXIII (1902), and *Idem,* XLI (1910), "The Fable in Horace".

suited to the purposes of emblem and woodcut.[11] The renewal of interest in animal lore—a fabulous realm presided over in the past by the credulous figures of Herodotus, Pliny the Natural Historian, and Aelian—helped to draw Aesop's speaking beasts into the current of literary use and allusion. As in the medieval days, pulpit-oratory and homely proverb had recourse to the well-known fables for apt illustration and pointed meaning. Innumerable were the contacts and relations of the simple apologue.

The connection is closest between the fable and the proverb.[12] "A proverb is often a compressed fable," says H. P. Houghton, who makes the suggestion that the animal proverb is very likely the oldest of all proverbs.[13] This opinion is upheld by another American scholar, H. T. Archibald, notable for his studies of the fable in Greek and Latin literatures: "A generic relationship between Proverb and Fable is contained in the common terminology αἶνος, λόγος, μύθος, but a marked difference is indicated by the term παροιμία, applied to Proverb but never to Fable."[14] And he goes on to say, "It is altogether likely of course that many proverbs have come originally from fables, and in process of time have become detached and the fable forgotten."[15] The reverse process takes place; fables are made from proverbs, not only by the people but also by schoolboys as a set task. The moral lessons of the familiar fables have often been accepted as proverbs, since they are couched in pithy form, but, as Ernest Weekley explains, "The perfect proverb should itself be the recognizable germ of a possible fable, susceptible of many variants."[16]

It would seem, then, that the relationship between a given fable and its concomitant proverb is often apparent at a glance; in other cases the proverb discloses its fabular origin

---

[11] E. N. S. Thompson, *Literary Bypaths of the Renaissance* (New Haven, 1924), pp. 65-66: "The stories of the oak and the briar and the kid and the fox are just such fables as the emblematists were fond of." Thompson speaks of over 700 volumes of emblems before the death of Shakspere (p. 32). Henry Green, *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers* (Lond., 1870).

[12] The present paper is a by-product of my work on Spenser's proverbs and proverbial expressions, which I hope soon to have ready for publication.

[13] *Moral Significance of Animals as indicated in Greek Proverbs* (Amherst, Mass., 1915), pp. 4, 10.

[14] *The Fable as a Stylistic Test,* p. 5.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Something about Words* (Lond., 1935), p. 91. "The most dramatic proverbs are really condensed fables." (p. 87).

only after careful inspection. An interesting example of the latter type is found in one of the proverbs in *The Shepheardes Calender.* Thenot, in the February Eclogue, remarks:

> "The soveraigne of seas he blames in vaine,
> That, once seabeate, will to sea againe." (ll. 33-34).

On first view there is no reason to suspect that a fable is embedded in this proverbial expression. A moment's thought, however, suggests that the lines may be the maxim attached to the well-known fable of "The Shepherd and the Sea," LaFontaine's second fable of the Fourth Book.[17] In Guillaume Tardif's adaptation of Lorenzo Valla's apologue, the moral is phrased thus by the "Pasteur" addressing the sea: "Certes, ne vous y attendez plus, car trop m'avés plumé pour une seconde fois.[18]

One finds no better way of determining the popularity of the fable than by scanning the lists of Aesop editions in such bibliographical works as the British Museum Catalogue.[19] In England the editions were not so plentiful as on the continent. From 1484, the date of Caxton's translation of "the subtyl historyes and fables of Esope," to 1596, the number comes to sixteen.[20] Of these, five are Latin edi-

---

[17] *Le Berger et la Mer,* IV. 2. Robert, *op. cit.,* I. 222-23 gives a number of analogues, beginning with Aesop. A French form of Spenser's proverb, of ancient origin, is as follows: "A tort se lamente de la mer Qui ne s'ennuye d'y retourner," which exists in Italian as "A torto al lagna del mare, Chi due volte ci vuol tornare." The last is closer to Spenser's maxim. The origin of the proverb seems to be in Publilius Syrus, 264:"Improbe Neptum accusat, qui iterum naufragium facit." Florio cites a typically English form of the expression (*Seconde Fruites,* p. 99): "Praise the sea, on shore remain." (1591).

[18] *Les Apologues* (*Ditz Moraulx*) trans. by Guillaume Tardif (1490), ed. Chas. Rocher, Paris, 1877. See, Sigmund Scholl, *G. Tardif u. seine franz. Uebersetzung der Fabeln des L. Valla* (Kempten, 1903). The quotation is from A. Delboulle, *Les Fables de LaFontaine* (Paris, 1891), p. 22.

[19] I use the new edition, which is a joy and a revelation to all of scholarly tastes. It calls for a reconsideration of printed book-catalogues vs. card catalogues. Under *Aesop* a vast number of editions are marshalled as to descent, illustrations, etc. A good many of these may have had currency in sixteenth-century England. I mention only Erasmus' ed. of Paris, 1535, and the eds. of J. Camerarius, Lipsiae, 1538, 1542, 1571. See H. R. D. Anders, *Shakespeare's Books* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 17-20. The *Fabulae Aesopi Cameraii* is a volume found in the library of James VI. (*The Library of James VI,* Edinburgh, 1893, p. lxv.

[20] Pollard and Redgrave, *Short Title Catalogue.*

tions,[21] one a Latin versification;[22] the rest are English translations.[23]

This list of publications, however, gives but a feeble and altogether inadequate indication of the currency of the fable in sixteenth-century England.[24] Foreign printings of Aesop and his congeners may be assumed to have been in the hands of English readers. More significant is the fact that Greek and Latin editions of the Fables were studied by every schoolboy, not alone as a gradus to the Parnassus of the ancient tongues, but as texts for memorizing and translating into English and Latin.[25] In the Merchant Taylors' School, for example, *Aesopes Fables in Greek* was set for study, usually in the fifth form, together with Lyly's *Grammer,* Tully's *Epistles,* and Cordelius' *Dialogues.*[26] At St. Bees, in Cumberland, we find in the list of text-books for the year 1583, *Aesopes Fabulae.*[27] It is clear from the studies in Elizabethan education made by W. C. Hazlitt, A. M. Stowe, Foster Watson, and George A. Plimpton, that the other guild and public schools were equally appreciative of the educational and moral value of the Greek fabulist. So that, entering the larger fields of classical literature through the pleasant gateway of Aesop, generations of

---

[21] R. Pynson, 1502; W. de Worde, 1503 and 1516; Aesopus and Pogii (Wynken de Worde, 1535); Robinson, 1591. It is the 1535 ed. of Wynken de Worde (based, according to the BMC, on a Venice ed. of 1534) which, rather than Caxton's translation, Max Plessow believes Spenser to have used for his fables. (*Gesch. der Fabeldichtung in England bis zu John Gay,* Berlin, 1906), p. liv. Caxton's work is described in the BMC as a translation of the Latin collection printed by Anton Sorg, Augsburg, 1480.

[22] Humfrey Roydon, 1596, printed by Hugh Jackson.

[23] See Nos. 175-182 and 185, 187 in STC.

[24] On June 16, 1598, the Sta. Register inscribes: "John Norton, printer . . . entred . . . a booke intituled Centum fabulae ffaernii." (Arber, III. 118). This is a projected English edition of Gabriello Faerno's Latin verse fables (1564). "Whitney, in one part of his *Emblemes,* uses twelve of Faerni's fables in succession." (H. Green, *op. cit.* p. 304). The copy I have seen has fine woodcuts. James VI's library contained *Fabulae Faerni 100,* Rome, 1564, as well as *Fables of Aesope in english,* probably the edition printed by H. Wykes, London, 1570. (*The Library of James VI—1375-1583,*—ed., Geo. F. Warner, Edinburg, 1893), pp. lxi, lxii. This study is extracted from the Miscellany, vol. XV, of the Public. of the Scottish History Society.

[25] Thomas Elyot, *The Boke of the Governour* (1534) Bk. I. ch. 10; Bk. III. ch. 25 makes a strong plea for Aesop's fables in the instruction of youth. He follows Quintillian: "boys should learn to relate orally the fables of Aesop, which follow next after the nurses' stories." (I. ix). Gabriel Harvey, *op. cit.,* p. 112, expresses the same view.

[26] W. C. Hazlitt, *Schools, Schoolbooks, and Schoolmasters,* (Lond., 1888), p. 139.

[27] George A. Plimpton, *The Education of Shakespeare* (L., N. Y., 1933), pp. 45, 103 ff. Foster Watson, *The English Grammar School to 1660* (Camb., Eng., 1908), pp. 300, 302, 519. A. M. Stowe *English Grammar Schools in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (N. Y., 1908), p. 110.

students found the immortal fables indelibly impressed on their memories, to be merged, in later life, with the thought and expression of educated folk everywhere.

Not strictly within the province of literature, yet not wholly disjoined from it, were the real or fabulous beasts of heraldic design and of court-masques and entertainments for royal progresses. These had an actual if somewhat tenuous relationship with the fable, since they emphasize the pictorial element, an indispensable concomitant of the fable as witnessed by the wood-cut or copper-plate illustrations to be found in almost all editions of Aesop. The clergy and the dissenting preachers recounted the fable of the Sheep and the Wolf, the Lion and the Lamb, the Oak and the Reed, in the same spirit that led them to invoke the sacred parables. The Fable had spread to other realms than literary ones.

The thread of the fable was woven in with the warp and woof of English literature; it was destined to outlast that other thread consisting of the fantastic animal and plant lore which proved so alluring to John Lyly[28] and his contemporaries. Both varieties had the decisive support of the fabulous element in the metamorphosing Ovid, though the substance of animal lore seems to have been derived largely from Erasmus, Pliny, and Aelian. The fables of animal life were linked in contemporary thought with the fables of the gods on earth. In fact, a number of the mythological beasts, birds, and tales had already been drawn into the ever-growing corpus of the Aesopic fable, where they were to remain until the time of LaFontaine and beyond.

As may be expected, allusions to Aesop and his apologues abound in contemporary literature.[29] An enumeration would include all the great as well as most of the lesser names: Elyot, Wyatt, Ascham, Thomas North, Fleming,

---

[28] *Euphues and his England* (ed. Croll and Clemons, Lond., 1916), p. 446, note 4: "In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance it became customary to convey ideas concerning the nature, duties, etc., of princes through the well known figures of the Bestiary, sometimes also to reprove or satirize them." P. A. Robin, *The Old Physiology in English Literature* (Lond., 1911); *Animal Lore in Eng. Literature* (L., 1932). F. Lauchert, "Einfluss d. Physiologus auf d. Euphuismus" *Englische Studien,* XIV (1890).

[29] Jacobs, *op. cit.;* Max Plessow, *op. cit.;* Mahlon E. Smith, *The English Fable* (MS Dissert., Harvard Univ., 1912). I have not seen Mr. Smith's dissertation, but he informs me that he based his Spenser material on the investigations of Greenlaw, etc. See by the same author, "Aesop, a Decayed Celebrity" PMLA (1931), XLVI. 225 ff.

Greene, Nashe,[30] Shakspere,[31] Lodge, Bacon, and many more. The Elizabethan drama would furnish ample material for a study of Aesopic references. So popular was the subject matter, that William Painter, in the *Palace of Pleasure* (1566) did not consider it incongruous to make his Twentieth Novel the story of *Aesopes Larke*.

The history of the English fable up to the time of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* (1579) lies outside the scope of the present paper. Its main outlines have been drawn by Joseph Jacobs, Max Plessow, and Mahlon E. Smith. These scholars have labored to good purpose, but much more remains to be done before the subject can be said to have received adequate treatment. Nevertheless, their pioneer work has greatly facilitated the task of one who undertakes to study a definitely limited portion of a field rich in literary material and interest.

Sensitive in his response to all literary and pictorial modes, whether of his day or of the past, Spenser was drawn to the fable by the same impulse that attracted him to the Beast-tale and the Mock-epic or Epyllion. These traditional forms had not alone the sanction of great writers of the classic past and of Renaissance Italy, but also, in the native tongue, the authority of Skelton,[32] Lydgate,[33] and, above all, Spenser's master, Tityrus. As "the new Poet", he may have considered that the fable belonged by right to a new literature seeking to discover and exploit the hidden powers and resources of the vernacular. Already the French "makers", with the same goal in view, had set him the example which he was but too eager to follow. Tardif, Marot, DuBellay, Baïf, Aneau, Haudent, Corrozet,—to name a few of the pre-Renaissance and Pléiade men,—experimented with the fable to good purpose, discovered its possibilities, and shaped it afresh to the uses of homely moral-

---

[30] The excellent edition of Nashe's *Works* by R. B. McKerrow discusses the fables (vol. 4). See, Joseph Ruehfel, *Die Belesenheit von T. Nash* (Muenchen, 1911).

[31] H. R. D. Anders, *op. cit.*

[32] John Grange, *The Golden Aphroditis* (1577), as cited in *Censura Liter.* (1815), I. 382. Grange's *Golden Aphroditis*, including his *Granges Garden*, is reproduced in facsimile by Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, N. Y., 1936. The passage referred to is at folio N, iv.

[33] *Anglia* IX publishes Lydgate's fables edited by Paul Sauerwein. See the same author's *Auber Lydgate's Aesop-Uebersetzung* (Halle, 1885).

izing, satire, and expostulation.[34] One might enrich the English language by translating and adapting the Anacreontic adventures of Cupid, a task which proved so alluring to Spenser, but the fable should by its very nature be part and parcel of the native heritage, as truly English as a homespun proverb or a simile reiterated in a hundred ballads.

The contemporary manner of alluding to Aesop and his fables is exemplified by E. K. in his introduction and glosses to *The Shepheardes Calender.* Even if we insist that he was Edward Kirke and not, as some scholars maintain, Spenser in the guise of Edmund the Kalender-maker, it seems more than likely that the commentator consulted with the poet when compiling his annotations.[35] In the *Epistle* addressed to Gabriel Harvey, E. K. says, "Much like to the mole in Aesopes fable, that, being blynd her selfe, would in no wise be perswaded that any beast could see." This apologue of *The Mole and its Mother* does not appear in Caxton's *Aesop,* so that E. K. must have read it in a Latin or a Greek text, or, perhaps, in Wynken de Worde's edition of 1535. At any rate, his memory of the fable is somewhat vague and inaccurate, or, as frequently happens in Elizabethan allusions to Aesop, he wilfully alters the tale to fit a predetermined moral.

In the fable of *The Mole and its Mother* the youthful mole boasts that it can see, but the wise old mother at once reproves the pretense. The reproof may account for E. K.'s version. An independent form of the mole-fable has to do

---

[34] Louis Levrault, *La Fable* (Paris, 1919), presents the main features of French fable history. The French fabulists and emblem writers of the Renaissance should be studied in conjunction with their English compeers, who are frequently indebted to them. Arthur F. Whittem has recently edited the Fables of Hégémon (Philibert Guide), "Two Fable Collections," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philol. and Literature* (1932), pp. 151 ff. Prosper Soullié, *La Fontaine et ses Devanciers* (Paris et Angers, 1861), especially Chapter VII. The same author's *Critique comparative des fables de LaFontaine* (Reims, 1881).

[35] As Jules Wurtsbaugh notes, *Two Centuries of Spenserian Scholarship* (Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1936), p. 152 n, Todd, in his Spenser edition of 1805, pointed out that E. K. was taken to be Edward Kirke or E. Knight, or the poet's self. The problem has been discussed frequently since. I am in agreement with Jefferson B. Fletcher's sensible view as expressed in *Mod. Lang. Notes,* (1900) XV. 330-31, to the effect that Spenser collaborted with E. K. in the writing of the commentary. The latest upholder of the contention previously advanced by Rhys, Uhlemann, Sommer, is Agnes D. Kuersteiner, "E. K. is Spenser," *PMLA,* L, (1935), pp. 140-155.

with an Ass, an Ape, and a Mole.[36] The first laments that it has no horns, the second bewails the lack of a tail, but the Mole's sorrow is greatest for being blind.

E. K. cites one other Aesopic tale in the *Epistle:* "Like to the dogge in the maunger, that him selfe can eate no hay, and yet barketh at the hungry bullock, that so faine would feede." Here we have the familiar apologue of the *Dog in the Manger,* which Aesop collections derived from the *Fabulae Extravagantes,* V. xi.[37] There is no direct suggestion in the *Epistle* or in Caxton's *Aesop* of the maxim or moral that was to become proverbial. In literary use the hungry animal is sometimes a bullock (or ox), sometimes a horse, as in Lucian's *Adversus indoctum,* 30, or his *Timon, the Misanthrope,* 14, or, in Lyly's *Euphues:* "Thou dealest with most of thy acquaintance as the dog doth in the manger, who neither suffereth the horse to eat hay, nor will himself."[38] In Geffrey Whitney's *Emblems* it is an ox whom the dog worries.[39]

Few proverbs occur more frequently than that of *The Dog in the Manger.* Apperson[40] traces the phrase back to Lucian, and quotes Gower's *Confessio Amantis,* II. 84, the *Supplication of Poore Commons,* 65, and Tusser's *Husbandrie,* 69. To this list of English forms of the proverb M. P. Tilley adds a quotation from *Promus,* 269, 747: "A dog in the manger that neither eats nor lets others eat."[41] Perhaps, in addition to Aesop, Elizabethan use of the proverb may be indebted to Erasmus' *Adagia,* II. 371 F: *Canis in praesepi.*

The only other fable which I discover in E. K.'s discourses occurs in his gloss to the February Emblem: "lyke unto the Ape, of which is sayd in Aesops fables, that often-

---

[36] Verdizotti, *Cento favole morali* (Venetia, 1575) has it, with woodcut (p. 157). In a MS described in Ward's *Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS of the British Museum,* II. 365, the Mole complains to Nature that she made him with eyes but without sight. Nature explains the reason for this.

[37] Jacobs, *op. cit.* II. 165; and see list of analogues, I. 255.

[38] Page 177.

[39] *Choice of Emblemes* (ed. Henry Green, Lond., 1866), p. 184. The date is 1586.

[40] *English Proverbs* (Lond., N. Y., 1929), pp. 160-61. Walz, *Das Sprichwort bei Gower,* 36, (Nördlingen, 1907)

[41] M. P. Tilley, *Elizabethan Proverb Lore* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1926), pp. 125-26. *Promus of Formularies and elegancies* (ed. Mrs. Henry Pott, N. Y., 1887). *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Oxford, 1935), adds, as of 1564, Bulleyn, *Dialogue against the Pest* (1888), 9; Burton, *Anat. of Melancholy* (1621) I. ii. iii. (1651), 115.

times meeting the Lyon, he was at first sore aghast and dismayed at the grimnes and austeritie of hys countenance, but at last being acquainted with his lookes, he was so farre from fearing him, that he would familiarly gybe and jest with him: suche longe experience breedeth in some men securitie." E. K. not only recounts the fable, as we see, but he draws a moral, somewhat different from the one which long ago took the proverbial form: Familiarity breeds contempt.[42]

The special interest of the passage just cited lies in E. K.'s substitution of an Ape for the Fox of the well-known fable. Is this another instance of E. K.'s lapses of memory, or does he wilfully make the alteration because he has his moral in mind and considers that the apologue is suited to the Ape rather than the Fox, in that the former bears closest resemblance to man?[43] Perhaps he has confounded the fable of the Fox and the Lion with one or both of the two fables which give some indication that the companion of the Lion was an Ape.[44] Whatever the case may be, E. K. has no warrant, either in classical or contemporary literature, for the metamorphosis. Probably of Indian origin, according to Joseph Jacobs,[45] the apologue of the Fox and the Lion is found in Romulus, IV. 12, and in Aesop collections generally, including Caxton's *Aesop*. Whitney makes use of it for one of his *Emblems,* to point the familiar moral.[46]

---

[42] The origin of the proverb is traced to Publilius Syrus, 102: *Parit contemptum nimia familiaritas.* Apperson, *op. cit.,* refers, however, to Livy, xxxv. 10; Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis;* and Alanus de Insulis, in Wright, *Minor Anglo-Latin Satirists* (Record Series II. 454). The same editor quotes Chaucer, *Melibeus,* 55: "For right as men seyn, that 'overgreet homliness engendreth dispreysinge' "; G. Harvey, *Works,* I. 293 (Grosart): "Truth begeteth hatred; Vertue Envy; Familiaritie contempt"; Shakspere, *Merry Wives* I. 1: "I hope upon familiarity will grow more contempt." To these the *Oxford Dict. of English Proverbs* adds, Pecock, *Repr.* 184; Udall, etc., *Erasmus* Par. John 34a: Familiarity bringeth contempt.

[43] Although Thomas Tusser, *Another Division of the Nature of Man's Age,* writes:

"The Ape, the Lion, the Fox, the Ass,
Thus sets forth man, as in a glass."

(*Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry,* 1812), p. 199.

[44] Wm. C. McDermott, whose Johns Hopkins dissertation on *The Ape in Classical Literature,* when published, will prove of great value and interest to students, makes this suggestion in a letter to me. He agrees that E. K. was probably laboring under a misapprehension. See, W. C. McDermott, "The Ape in Greek Literature" *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc. LXVI* (1935), pp. 165-76.

[45] *The Fables of Aesop* (Lond., N. Y., 1894), p. 83.

[46] *Op. cit.,* p. 156. Næshe, *Works* (McKerrow, I. 174-75): "Raynold, the Fox, may well beare up his taile in the Lion's denne, but when he comes abroad, hee is afraid of every dogge that barkes."

Gabriello Faerno, in his *Aesopae Fabulae,* poetizes the tale, *Leo & Vulpes,* and ends with the maxim:

> "Quae terribilia sunt ab insolentia,
> Ea reddit assuetudo blanda, & mollia."[47]

E. K.'s references to Aesop are typical of the age. Not content with bare allusions, he recounts the fables in full and proceeds to apply them to the particular matters with which he is concerned. He takes very little for granted,—not even a modicum of intelligence and knowledge in his readers. It may be that he viewed his editorial duties with too grave concern; nevertheless, we ought not take him to task for his meticulous displays of school-learning, since he was but following the prevailing fashion. As we shall see, Spenser himself recites one or two fables in the customary manner in his prose-treatise on Ireland.

The Eclogues of the *Shepheardes Calender* comprise many inventions of the Muses, classical, Renaissance, and native. Almost all the poetic forms and devices which the Renaissance conception of *decorum* brought within the scope of the pastoral tradition are appropriated by Spenser in order to impart variety, picturesqueness, contrast, balance, and shifting mood and emotion to his first published work. His calculated reversion, in several of the Eclogues, to archaic speech and meter, his acknowledged treading in the footsteps of Chaucer and "the Pilgrim that the Plowman played awhile," his conscious effort to impose upon a classical, literary genre the native elements of simplicity, plain-speaking, and homely dialetical vigor, induced him to make free use of the balladic Simile, the Proverb, and the Fable. These were the three poetic devices which his creative instinct informed him to be in true accord with his pastoral scheme and rustic background.

All told, there are nine fables in the *Shepheardes Calender.* Two of them,—"the Oak and the Briar," "the Fox and the Kid",—are developed with many an original touch in both narrative and style. The others range from brief,

---

[47] Fable XVIII. Verdizotti has it, with woodcut, p. 191. Jacobs declares that this fable of the Fox and the Lion is the only extant one of Rabbi Meier's 300 Fox-fables. Dr. Rodkinson, in his English translation of the *Talmud,* claims that *three* have survived.

incidental mention, to the fairly detailed treatment bestowed upon the fables of "the Eagle and the Shellfish", and "the Wolf in Sheep's Clothing."

1. *The Oak and the Briar* (February Eclogue, 102-238)

In his *Argument* to the February Eclogue E. K. calls attention to the pictorial (emblematic) quality of this "moral and general" fable: "the olde man telleth a tale of the Oake and the Bryer, so lively and so feelingly, as, if the thing were set forth in some picture before our eyes, more plainly could not appear." Again, in the Gloss, E. K. has a further word concerning the fable: "This tale of the Oake and the Brere he telleth as learned of Chaucer, but it is cleane in another kind, and rather like to Aesopes fables." A shrewd and very accurate statement of fact.

Few fables have had greater currency than that of the Tree and the Reed. Numerous analogues are cited by Hervieux, Robert, and Jacobs. In the great majority of these versions the tale takes a common form: a prideful Tree—Oak, Fir, Ash, or some other—vaunts its sturdy strength, only to be overthrown by a violent blast of wind to which the Reed bends and remains alive and unhurt. "Pride cometh before a fall," might, in general, be taken as the moral, though other sage lessons readily suggest themselves. A variant of the fable replaces the storm by a Woodman who chops the tree down in the moment of its boasting.[48]

In contradistinction to the animal-fable, this apologue may be termed one of "still life"; in the earlier versions there is almost no dialogue and the fable becomes, to use E. K.'s words, "an icon or hypotyposis". The Tree represents Pride, because of its wide-spreading branches and unbending vigor. Similarly, the Reed betokens Humility. Nevertheless, the fabulists do not remain content with static symbols; their impulse is to endow even the inanimate with life, movement, speech. Gradually the Tree is made con-

---

48 August Wuensche, *Die Pflanzenfabel in der Weltliteratur* (Leipz. u. Wien, 1905), pp. 61-2. There is no mention of Spenser's fable. Wuensche quotes a great many variants; the greater part of his book is devoted to a discussion of the Oak and the Reed, proving that few fables of the inanimate type have been produced. See, pp. 49-112 and p. 134. P. Soullié, *LaFontaine et ses Devanciers*, pp. 65 ff., 105ff., 246ff.

sciously boastful and meets a well-merited doom, while the meek Reed inherits the earth.

By a species of inversion Spenser imparts an entirely new form to the ancient and familiar fable. Far from being filled with braggart self-confidence, the Oak of Spenser's tale is humble and apologetic, deeply wronged by an upstart and cantankerous Briar. Instead of being a victim of the blustering elements, the aged Oak is felled by a Husbandman enraged by the Briar's insistent complaints. And —excellent poetic justice!—the mischief-making Briar, far from remaining upright and triumphant, discovers too late that the downfall of the sturdy Tree spells ruin to its own parasitic and defenseless self.

It is obvious that Spenser exercised his inventive faculties on the old tale, altering its features to produce a version which may be termed fresh and original. More than that, he imparted life and movement and motivation to a "story" inherently as static as a fixed emblem. He makes his recital convincing by means of touches of realism intermingled with fine poetic effects. The Oak, "whilome the king of the field," when he yielded "mochell mast[49] to the husband," is well past his prime, "his honor decayed, his braunches sere." However, he is still stately and widespreading, with the dignity of "holy eld." The fresh beauty of the Briar is in strong contrast to the gnarled old Tree. Animated dialogue and spirited play of emotions enliven the tale. The felling of the Oak becomes a painful rite; the Tree is almost human in its pitiful helplessness; the ax turns aside "as half unwilling to cut the graine," and the old Oak shudders inwardly:

> "The blocke oft groaned under the blow,
> And sighed to see his neare overthrow."[50]

The personification of trees and plants must have begun in those far-off days when "the groves were God's first

---

[49] "The Oak is a tree that beareth mast." (Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Propriet. Rerum,* Bk. XVII, sect. 134). He describes the images, etc., presented to the oak in order to make it hard (Sect. 84). "October good blæst, To blow the hog mast." Tusser, *Five Hundred Points,* etc. (1577), p. 31.

[50] Frazer, *Golden Bough* (1 vol. ed., N. Y., 1930), p. 131, cites an interesting passage from J. Aubrey, *Remains of Gentilisme and Judaisme* (Lond., 1881), p. 247: "When an oak is being felled it gives a kind of shriekes or groanes, that may be heard a mile off, as if it were the genius of the oake lamenting. E. Wyld, Esq. hath heard it severall times." Cf. W. H. Hudson's lovely story, *An Old Thorn.*

temples." Myths, legends, and stories in the folk-lore and literature of all peoples attest the universality of the theme, as Sir James G. Frazer has shown in his extensive studies of some highly significant aspects of tree-worship.[51] This great anthropologist did not neglect to divagate, now and then, into the literary bypaths of his subject. But a comprehensive review of the (animate) plant-world in literature would reach the length of two or three volumes of the *Golden Bough* series. It would extend from the earliest surviving records of man's reaction to Nature down to the writings of our own day. It would seek its data in innumerable volumes of literature, among them several of the historical, poetic and prophetic books of the Old Testament, the vast Hindu, Persian, and Arabian epics, as well as the romantic epic-poems of Boiardo, Ariosto, Tasso, Camoens, and Spenser. And with these the search would only have begun.

Of the sections comprising such an imagined study, the one on the Plant-Fable would attain to not inconsiderable length. And for a discussion of the fable of the Tree and the Reed (or the Bush and the Bramble), our supposititious author might begin with the Book of *Judges,*[52] or the *Mahabharata,*[53] or the *Talmud* at Taanith, 20 b.[54] Perhaps, disregarding the last two as without direct bearing on modern recensions, he would prefer to follow the literary thread[55] reaching from the Greek or Latin of Aesop, Babrius, Aphthonius, Avianus, Romulus, Abstemius, Virgil, and ending in the Renaissance period with the Latin of Faerno and of the emblem-writers, Alciati,[56] Freitag,[57] and Hadrian Junius.[58] The modern tongues of the continent would offer ample material to enrich such a study,

---

[51] Frazer, *op. cit.* pp. 109 ff., 159 ff. Grant Allen, "On the Origin of Tree Worship," (in, his trans. of Catullus' *Attis*), and see Frazer's letter to Allen (Nov. 28, 1892), on p. 144 of Edward Clodd, *Memoir of Grant Allen* (Lond., 1900).

[52] IX. 6 ff.

[53] XII. 4198 (Jacobs, *op. cit.*), I. 252.

[54] Jacobs, *Idem.* The Rosebush and the Apple-tree, "a dispute of the common type." Cf. Aesop's "The Peasant and the Apple-tree"—a sacred tree.

[55] The analogues are given in Robert, *op. cit.,* I. 85-94; Jacobs, *op. cit.,* II. 126, 234, and I. 252. Hervieux, (*op. cit.*).

[56] *Emblemata* (Lugduni, Batavorum, 1591), pp. 697-98 (Quercus, Emblema cxcix).

[57] Emblem 16, *Mythologia Ethica* (Antwerp, 1579).

[58] *Emblems* (Antwerp, 1565), p. 49. The tree is an ash. Whitney, *op. cit.* p. 220, uses the same motto, *Victrix animi equitas,* but speaks of "the nightie oke". Henry Green, *op. cit.* p. 314.

what with Verdizotti and others in Italian and the various Aesop recensions in Spanish, German and Dutch. Closer to our special interest in this paper would be some of the French versions,[59] not improbably known to Spenser: the age-old tale as recounted in *Renart le Contrefait,* in Tardif's translation of Lorenzo Valla, and in Corrozet, Haudent, and others.

In Elizabethan England, Whitney the emblematist paid his respects to the fable in more than one of his "mottoes". He tells about "The Gourd and the Pine"[60] in a version that approaches Spenser's in some of the details of the narrative; on three other occasions he returns to the theme: the Pine is overthrown in a storm,[61] the Pine is hewed down by a Woodman's ax,[62] and, finally, "the mightie oke" is smitten by the winds before which the Reed bends to conquer and remain alive.[63] Whereas Whitney's emblems may have some relation to the one by Spenser,[64] the other contemporary references to the fable of the Tree and the Reed are as a rule simple allusions to a traditional and proverbial tale.[65] That the fable lent itself to the purposes of pulpit-exhortation appears to be indicated by passages in Bishop John Young's Sermon delivered on the 2nd of March, 1575. As quoted by Percy W. Long, who has discussed the relations between the Rochester Bishop and his young Secretary, Spenser, one sentence in the sermon reads as follows: "And amongst the Trees, the Bramble and the Bryer dyd usurpe it: the parable is in the booke of Judges."[66]

Certain details of the narrative in the February Eclogue

---

59 Robert, *Idem.*

60 *Op. cit.,* pp. 34-5.

61 *Ibid,* p. 59.

62 *Ibid,* p. 140. The last stanza has the tree cut down by an ax.

63 *Ibid,* p. 220, where Whitney refers to Horace, *Carm.* 2; *Od.* 10, and Ovid, 3 *Trist,* 3.

64 Green, *op. cit.,* makes much of Whitney's relation to Spenser, pp. 314-317, and see, 302 ff., "Emblems with Fables."

65 *E. g., Cymbeline,* IV. 2. 259; *Loves Labor Lost,* IV. 2. 100; *Coriolanus,* V. 2. 102.

66 *Op. cit.,* p. 727. Long (p. 728), cautions the reader: "It is not intended that Spenser derives solely, or even primarily from the sermon, but from the habitual ideas and imagery of his daily association." A wise admonition which, unfortunately, Brents Stirling disregards in his paper on "Spenser and Thomas Watson", *Philol. Quarterly,* X (1931), 322 note.

may have been derived from Aesop, Chaucer,[67] or Alciati, but an examination of the analogues, a few of which have been referred to, proves that Spenser handled the fable of the Oak and the Briar in a novel and original manner. I have not encountered a single instance of a similar reversal of rôles: the Oak abashed and humble, the Briar captious and disdainful, though for the latter Spenser may have found the suggestion in the Old-Testament parable of the Trees (*Judges,* ix. 5 *seq.*) Somewhat in the spirit of the Briar's complaints is Spenser's indirect allusion to the Tree in *The Tears of the Muses:*

> "And learned impes that wont to shoote up still,
> And grow to hight of kingdomes government,
> They underkeep, and with their spredding armes
> Doo beat their buds, that perish through their harmes." (l. 75-78)

Because of his radical alteration of the fable, Spenser's moral is different from the maxims usually associated with the apologue of the Tree and the Reed: "Pride comes before a fall," or, "Yield to conquer," or, "The higher the tree the greater the fall."[68] True to his basic aim in the February Eclogue—to present "a discourse of old age" scorned by youth,—Spenser intends his fable as "a certain icon or hypotyposis of disdainful younkers," and his moral is:

> "Such was thend of this ambitious Brere,
> For scorning eld."

Spenser's explanation of the fable's intention is confirmed, as we have seen, by E. K., who declares categorically in the *Argument:* "This Aeglogue is rather morall and generall then bent to any secrete or particular purpose." Had the

---

[67] "Thenk here-ayeins, whan that the sturdy ook,
On which men hakketh ofte, for the nones,
Receyved hath the happy fælling strook,
The grete sweigh doth it come all at ones,
. . . . . .
And reed that boweth doun for every blast,
Ful lightly, cesse wind, it wol aryse;
But so nil not an ook whan it is cast."
(*Tr. and Cress.,* II. 1380-89).

[68] Other proverbs connected with the Oak: Chaucer, *R. R.* 3687-88, "For no man at the first stroke Ne may nat felle doun an oke." Erasmus, *Adagia,* II. 331 E. *Euphues,* 66: "'Many strokes overthrow the tallest oak." *Ibid.,* 321: "Great oaks (are) hewn with many blows." Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Scornful Lady,* II. 2. Shakspere, *3 Henry VI.,* II. i. 55.

scholiast believed that the fable cloaks a religious allegory,[69] there was nothing to prevent him from saying so as bluntly as he does of the "Fox and the Kid" in the May Eclogue. We must take note, therefore, of the fact that he refrains from such a comment. The obvious and expressed meaning of the parable is accepted by C. H. Herford and W. L. Renwick, and it would pass without question were it not for a brief passage in Spenser's description of the Oak, suggesting to some minds a veiled allegory of another sort. Commiserating the Tree in its near overthrow, the poet writes:

> "For it had bene an auncient tree,
> Sacred with many a mysteree,
> And often crost with the priestes crewe,
> And often halowed with holy water dewe.
> But sike fancies weren foolerie,
> And broughten this Oake to this miserye." (ll. 207-212).

In his comment on "the priestes crewe," E. K. says: "holy water pott, wherewith the popishe priest used to sprinckle and hallowe the trees from mischaunce. Such blindnesse was in those times, which the poete supposeth to have bene the finall decay of this auncient Oake." It is clear that both Spenser and E. K. have in mind the age-old custom of tree-worship, the poet pointing, it may be, to pagan times, and E. K. plainly to the more recent days of Roman-Catholic England.

"The key to the explanation" of the February Eclogue E. A. Greenlaw[70] calls the first four lines of the passage just quoted from the fable, and he undertakes to interpret the hidden allegory as one having to do with the religious strife in Elizabethan England. The Oak stands as the symbol of the ancient religion, and the Briar is the youthful growth of the Anglican Church planted by the Husbandman, the English people. A somewhat modified form of this theory is advocated by J. J. Higginson,[71] who con-

---

[69] The religious implication ("rather morall and generall then bent to any secrete or particular purpose") is properly explained by Mary Parmenter, "Spenser's *Twelve Aeglogues Proportionable to the Twelve Monethes*," *ELH* (1936), III. 199-200: "For all Christians alike, the emphasis in both January and February was, and is, upon the childhood and youth of Christ, the sacred teaching like the secular customs emphasizing the yielding of Old to New."

[70] "The Shepheardes Calender" *PMLA.* XXVI (1911), 428.

[71] *Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar in Relation to Contemporary Affairs* (N. Y., 1911), pp. 46-71.

siders that the Briar represents Burghley, the Oak the Catholic religion, and the Husbandman, Queen Elizabeth. The change of gender in the last of these identifications Mr. Higginson explains facilely by referring to Spenser's supposed allusions to the Queen as a Lion in *Mother Hubberds Tale.*

An immediate objection to these views arises from the fact that we know the poet to have been a Protestant who, during his Cambridge days, if not earlier, showed some leanings towards Puritan doctrine. Is it likely that the author of a *Shepheardes Calender* composed, in part, for the purpose of refuting and confounding the Roman-Catholic Calendars of Shepherds, would enter upon a fervid defence of the ancient religion even under the guise of allegory? If a religious meaning is to be admitted, is it not at least equally plausible that the young secretary to the High-Church Bishop of Rochester would think of the Anglican Church as the Oak? Spenser knew quite well that the recently established Church retained not a little of the ritualism which his "puritan" self and the anti-popish E. K. may not have favored and which the extremist dissenting sects of the day cried out against with all the petulance and narrow-mindedness of the Briar in Spenser's fable.

A religious interpretation of a different sort is suggested by Percy W. Long in the course of his illuminating paper on "Spenser and the Bishop of Rochester," already referred to. It will be remembered that our fable treats of the cutting down of one of "the trees of state," a phrase which E. K. glosses: "taller trees, fitte for timber wood." Dr. Long calls attention to the fact that "the cutting down of timber wood suggested then a topical hit at the clergy. . . . It had become a common expedient with churchmen in order to make both ends meet."[72] One of those who was brought up on this charge before the Council was Bishop John Aylmer, the Morrell of the July Eclogue. With these well-established facts as a basis, Dr. Long proceeds to equate the Briar ("Young's and Spenser's type of unseemly ambition") with Aylmer ("Spenser's type of evil and ambitious pastor"). In the resulting allegory the Oak becomes

[72] *Op. cit.,* p. 732.

Archbishop Grindal, Aylmer's patron, now fallen from favor. "Such a connection," Dr. Long concludes, "could hardly have escaped the allegorist Spenser."[73]

Some years later a new identification of the protean Oak was advocated by Brents Stirling.[74] Setting himself the query: "Why should Spenser inject the element of Catholicism into a fable purporting to deal exclusively with a conflict between youth and age?" Dr. Stirling believes it essential "to find symbolized in the ancient tree, a Catholic personage, possessed, however, of qualities sufficient to redeem him in the poet's eyes from the Romish taint."[75] No contemporary meets these requirements so exactly as does Thomas Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, in his old age accused of recusancy, sequestrated, and in January of 1579 transferred to the charge of Bishop Young of Rochester, whom Spenser was serving as secretary. So that the good old Oak is taken to represent Thomas Watson,[76]—not to be confused with the poet of the same name.

Now, Bishop Watson was first deprived of his offices in 1574 and sequestrated to the Bishop of Winchester. Hence, his fall was by no means a notable event five years later; the Oak had been lying prone a very long time! Furthermore, as we shall discover in greater detail in our discussion of Spenser's fable of "The Wolf in Sheep's Clothing," (September Eclogue), this good Bishop has been several times identified with the ravening Wolf preying on "seely" Anglican sheep. In other words, we are invited to believe that in the very same poetical work Spenser (in his Anglican character) portrays Bishop Watson as a saintly person who was deeply wronged by the Church, and again,—Spenser is a "Puritan" now,—as a monster to be dreaded by the faithful. Verily, devious are the ways of allegory-hunting where the sign-posts point in opposite directions to the Land of Cockaigne.

Thus we are offered a wide choice of conjectures, though it is difficult to discover why a specific religious exegesis of Spenser's fable is considered necessary. There exists no warrant for it either in the poem or the Gloss, outside of the

---

[73] *Ibid,* 733.
[74] *Op. cit.*
[75] *Ibid,* p. 322
[76] See the biographical sketch in *DNB.*

brief passage in each on which the scholars base their assumptions. For myself, I agree with Herford that the fable of the Oak and the Briar is "ethically of no great significance, but brilliant in execution,"[77] and I hold with Renwick that "it is not surprising to find our antiquarian poet remembering the stories of Druid tree-worship, county customs that contain vestiges of old magic, and boundary-ridings that gave their name to many Gospel Oaks."[78] In Spenser's lines and E. K.'s gloss I see nothing more than casual allusions to a superstitious rite not unknown in Spenser's time, and one which Frazer has followed down the ages. "Of all European trees," says Sir James, "none has such claims as the oak to be considered as preeminently the sacred tree of the Aryans."[79]

I should imagine that Spenser, who was overfond of details and elaboration, added the lines about "the sacred old oak" as so much poetic effect and trimming. The passage would read almost like an afterthought were it not that we know, from the numerous instances of tree-animism in the *Faerie Queene,*[80] that the poet had an abiding interest in the personification of trees. Like any other artist he was incapable of resisting the natural suggestions that rose to his mind; besides, in this instance he was following a tradition which Ariosto and Boiardo had firmly established in the epic and which was not felt to be exotic in the pastoral.

There remains still another interpretation of Spenser's fable to be considered. Advanced by Higginson[81] as a supplement to the opinion we have already examined, it identifies the Oak with the Catholic Duke of Norfolk, whose execution on June 2, 1572,[82] seven years before the publication of the *Shepheardes Calender,* is said to have aroused intense feeling at the time. Mr. Higginson's elaborate argument to uphold this view, in which he ultimately contradicts his premise with regard to Norfolk's religion, has

---

[77] Edition of the *Calendar* (London, 1895), p. xli. Perhaps Herford underestimates the "moral" purpose of the fable, which Miss Parmenter, *op. cit.,* makes clear.

[78] Edition of the *Calendar* (London, 1930), p. 186.

[79] *Op. cit.* p. 665.

[80] *E. g.,* I. 2. 28 ff.

[81] "Ancient Biographical Poems on the Duke of Norfolk" (J. P. Collier in *Camden Soc. Miscel.* III.—*Pub.* LXI, 1855).

met with no favor. He makes much of Spenser's "trees of state,"[83] as signifying the Court, but E. K.'s explanation of the term is certainly to be preferred. Pursuing the same method of proof, Higginson dwells on the poet's description of the gaudy Briar:

> "Seest how fresh my flowers bene spredde,
> Dyed in lilly white and cremsin redde,
> With leaves engrained in lusty greene,
> Colours meete to clothe a mayden queene?" (ll. 129-132).

Obviously, these lines seem to lend color to Mr. Higginson's contention, but it is to be noted that they are in the poet's customary phrasing, frequently iterated throughout the *Calender*. Does it not appear more natural to consider them as the usual panegyric strain rather than as shrouding a deep mystery? Spenser is seen to be making the most of another opportunity to pay homage to the Queen.

In order to demonstrate further that no ordinary grove of trees is intended in the narrative, Higginson points to l. 178 in which the Briar complains to the Husbandman that its flowers are "forced to fall, That bene the honor of your coronall."[84] Spenser's use of the word *honor* is held up to our notice by Higginson, who failed to take into consideration its Virgilian meaning.[85]

I should think it unwise to declare dogmatically that Spenser was conscious of no allegorical intention in the February Eclogue other than that of a parable of age and youth. The passage cited from *The Tears of the Muses* would alone indicate that the poet depicts trees symbolically, on occasion, to hint at persons and events. Indeed, it is possible that the young secretary to a Bishop[86] con-

---

[83] Cf. *F. Q.* II. v. xxxi. 1-3: "a pleasaunt grove Was shott up high, full of the stately tree That dedicated is t' Olympick Jove."

[84] "A corowne of a grene ook cerial." (Chaucer, *K. T.* 2290).

[85] Of *foliage*. *Geor.* II. 403-4, as Renwick notes, in connection with l. 114 where the word is first used by our poet. Spenser employs the word frequently in this sense: *e. g., Vis. of Bellay,* V. 11: "The honour of these noble boughs." Also, *Prothal.* 74: "Then forth they all out of their bakets drew Great store of flowers, the honour of the field." *Muip.* 123: "gathered more store in the fields of honour." *F. Q.* III. l. xxxv. 5; VI. x. vi. 4: "in which all trees of honour stately stood."

[86] John Young, in *DNB;* F. O. White, *Lives of the English Bishops of the Anglican Church* (Lond., 1898), pp. 251-52; Alexander C. Judson, *A biographical sketch of John Young, Bishop of Rochester* (Bloomington, Ind., 1935), p. 4, points out that on July 26, 1555, Young subscribed to the Roman articles. Page 23 of this fine study has a comment on the Feb. Eclogue. The booklet is published in the *Indiana University Studies,* vol. 21, Study no. 103. Higginson, op. cit., p. 130.

fessedly High-Church and accused by his enemies of leanings towards Catholicism, may for a time have shared his master's views on religious matters and expressed them in the fable of "The Oak and the Briar." I think it a mistake to regard Spenser's religion as having been always of one piece, whether we call that religion Puritanism, Calvinism, or a middle-of-the-road Anglicanism.[87] The poet, who was writing the first books of the *Faerie Queen* while completing the *Shepheardes Calender,* was not a Puritan of the extremist variety or a hard-shell Calvinist. We know from *Mother Hubberds Tale* that "Puritan" Spenser shared High-Church Elizabeth's animosity to priestly marriage, and that, while his attitude towards the vestments controversy was clearly influenced by his years in Pembroke Hall, where the issue was a burning one, he does not appear to include all vestments in his condemnation, in the manner of a bigot.

Nevertheless, one is compelled to admit that the search for buried allegories, however tempting, is beset with pitfalls. Too often the findings remain in the realm of plausibility and inconclusiveness. An esoteric explanation merely because it is allegorical, is not *ipso facto* to be preferred to the plain understanding of any passage. It is one thing to use trees as a poetic figure in the representation of persons (as Spenser does in a brief passage in *Tears of the Muses*); it is another to *narrate,* at some length, an actual happening by means of the static symbols of a Tree and a Briar. What is accomplished easily in the animal-fable or the beast-tale becomes unnatural and unmanageable in the plant-fable.[88] Perhaps this is why so few plant-fables have been written.[89] E. K. knew that a plant-fable performs its natural function when it is "an icon or hypotyposis."[90] I should like to hold, therefore, that if Spenser intended in his fable a sense other than meets the ear or is told us by

---

87 I need scarcely call attention to the many discussions of Spenser's religious views. See Carpenter, *Ref. Guide,* pp. 290-92 for a comprehensive list of authorities, among whom F. M. Padelford deservedly takes first rank.

88 Georg Silcher, *Tierfabel, Tiermaerchen, und Tierepos* (Reutlingen, 1905), K. Buchmann, *Poetik* (Berlin, 1898), p. 200.

89 Wuensch, *op. cit.* There are not many fables to which Phaedrus' line applies: "quod arbores loquantur, non tantum ferae."

90 The better acquainted one grows with E. K.'s Glosses, the more one is impressed by the soundness of his critical sense,—a faculty which is unfortunately obscured by his plethoric style and his exasperating digressiveness.

the scholiast, he gave but the vaguest indication of it, and that so far the efforts to uncover such an allegory have met with very dubious and conflicting results.[91]

Spenser's fable of "The Oak and the Briar" was not without influence on later English literature. More than one poet was attracted to the lively tale, struck by the manner in which Spenser had transformed a static emblem into a spirited story. Peter Woodhouse alludes to the fable:

> "we see the slender-yeilding reed
> Doth stand, whenas the sturdye Oake doth fall."[92]

Closely imitative of Spenser's manner is Michael Drayton's illustration of the eternal antinomy of Youth and Age:

> "Now am I like the knottie aged Oake,
> Whom waiting Time hath made a Tomb for dust,
> That of his branches reft by Tempest stroke,
> His barke consumes with Canker-wormes and rust.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> And though thou seem'st like to the bragging Bryer,
> And spreadst thee like the Morn-lov'd *Marigold,*
> Yet shall thy sap be shortly dry and seare,
> Thy gawdy Blossomes blemished with cold."[93]

In his play *The Royal Master* James Shirley makes the Oak a figured emblem of the great man's downfall.[94] And who shall say that Wordsworth, in the last stanza of *The Oak and the Broom* (1800), was not without a recollection of Spenser's fable? Yet these poets do little more with the fable than to return it to its earlier use as a poetic figure of speech: a metaphor or simile of brief emblematic motto. Spenser alone enlarged its scope and succeeded in producing a fresh and original recreation of a time-honored theme.

[*To be continued*]

---

[91] Miss Mary Parmenter, *op. cit.,* pp. 200-201, is in substantial agreement with this view. She points out that not only the fable of the Oak and the Briar "but also the introductory flyting between the ninety-year-old Thenot and scornful young Cuddie are placed in February because that is the proper month for the contest between Age and Youth, Winter and Spring, Old and New—as well as for the cutting of trees. The speakers are presented not only ironically but 'merrily,' as if in a sort of well known debate, play, mumming, or game . . . ."

[92] *The Contention between the Elephant and the Flea* (1605), ed. Grosart, *Occasional Issues,* IV., London, 1877, p. 14.

[93] *The Second Eclogue* (*Works,* ed. Hebel, Oxford, 1932), II. 523,—From, *Pastorals, contayning Eclogues,* 1619.

[94] 1638, V. 2. 4ff. Professor Kenneth McKenzie calls my attention to James Howell, *Dendrologia, Dodona's Grove, or the Vocall Forest* (London, 1640).

INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

Occurring in the Bibliography of Elizabethan Topics Published in 1936*

Compiled by R. W. BABCOCK

* Topics are printed in italics. Women's names are distinguished by a colon after the baptismal name. The bibliography covered by this Index was published in the January, 1937, issue of this BULLETIN. Titles of books are in italics and in single quotes. S=Shakspere; Sn=Shaksperian.

A

Abercrombie, L., 8835
Abroad, S, 8822
Acting, Sn, 8823-28
Actors, Sn, 8823-28
Ackermann, C., 8845, 9079, 9203, 9443, 9559
Adams, J. C., 9468, 9478, 9622
Albright, E: M., 9603
Alexander, P., 9344
Alexander, R:, 9192
Allegory of Love, The, 9609
Allen, A. B., 9536
Allen, D. C., 8921, 9172, 9532
Allen, H: E, 9201
Allen, N. B., 9150, 9166
Allen, P., 8927, 8952, 9280, 9331
Allis, M:, 9207, 9624
'All's Well', 9283
Allusions, Sn, 8829-32
America, S in, 8833
Amiet, A. A., 9246
Anderson, M:, 8827
'Antony and Cleopatra', 9284-93
Apocrypha, 8834, 9294
Appreciation of S, 8835
Archer, C., 9484
'Arden of Feversham', 9294-6
Armstrong, C. A. J., 9465
Armsrong, T. P., 9560
Arns, K., 9050
Arthur, G., 8824
'As You Like It', 9297-9298, 9585
Atkins, E:, 9454
Atkins, S. H., 8998, 9013
Atkinson, B., 9488
Atkinson, D: F., 9406, 9598
Atkinson, J. B., 9346, 9420

B

B., E. G., 9184
Babb, L., 9085
Babcock, R. W., 9336, 9351
Babington plot, 8958, 9056, 9071, 02625
Bach, R., 9661
Bacon, F., 8914, 8953, 8957
Bacon, L., 9513
Bacon-S Imbroglio, 8836
Baldwin, S., 8940
Baldwin, T. W., 9528
Barnfield, Poems of R., 8999
Barrett, W. P., 9094
Batchelder, M. C., 9496
Batho, E: C., 9506
Baugh, A. C., 8847
Baumüller, W., 9662
Beals, C., 8867
Beatty, J. M., 9352
Beaumont and Fletcher, 8837-43
'Beggars Ape, The', 9009
Bell, D., 8966, 9059, 9208, 9550, 9591
Belloc, H., 9068
Bennett, R. E., 9028, 9035
Bensly, E., 9169, 9269, 9432, 9598
Bentley, P., 9395
Béraud, J., 9040a
Beyer, B. J., 9165, 9460
Bibliotics, 8852
Bible and S, 8844-5
Bibliographies of S, 8846-51, 9049, 9324
Bieserfeldt, P. W., 9186
Biography of S, 8853-61
Black, J. B., 9067, 9091, 9125, 9155, 9454, 9589, 9624
Blackstone, B., 8961
Blunden, E., 8947
Boas, F. S., 8910, 9218
Boas, G., 9257
'Boccaccio in d. engl. Literatur', 9587
Bocquet, L., 9520
Bond, D. F., 9540
Bond, R. W., 8842
Book Titles from S, 8862-96
Boothroyd, R. H., 8951
Borgwardt, P., 9631
Botany and S, 8897
Boughner, D. C., 9379
Bowers, F. T., 8969, 9024a
Boyd, E: P., 9047
Bradbrook, M: C., 9553, 9635
Bradby, A:, 8947
Bradford, C. A., 9432

Bradford, G., 8837, 9023, 9062, 9233, 9244, 9284, 9573, 9575, 9677
Bramfitt, G. N., 9399
Brandon, L. A., 9152
Brandl, A., 9113, 9429, 9479, 9502, 9537
Braun, H., 9068
Braunmüller, W., 9326
Breton, N, 8898
Bridge, G. F., 9632
Brinkley, R: F., 9003
Brittain, A:, 8873
Brock, J. H. E., 9340
Brom, G., 9138
Brooke, C. F. T., 9006, 9051, 9487
Brooks, V. W., 8833
Brown, H., 8912
Brown, I., 8825
Brown, J. M., 9346, 9357, 9473
Brownfield, C., 8964
Bruce, A. K., 9146
Bruner, K., 9672
Brychcznski, R:, 9431
Bryson, J. N., 9191
Bühler, C. F., 9577
Bullough, G., 8990
Burke, K., 9286
Bushnell, G. H., 8958
Bütow, H., 9663
Buxton, G., 8929
Buyssens, E., 9602
Byrne, M: St. C., 9394
Byrne, St. G:. 9196

C

Cairncross, A. S., 8859, 9347, 9411, 9427
Camden, C., 9239
Cameron, K. W., 9302
Camp, G. C., 9476
Campbell, L: B., 8992
Campbell, O. J., 9174
Carson, R., 8866
Carter, G. E. L., 9446
Casson, L. F., 9084
'Castle of Helth, The', 9243
Castle, E., 8834
'Catholicism in England, 1535-1935', 9555
'Cavalier Drama', 9043a
Cazamian, L., 9450
Cecil, W., 9017
Cellini, B., 9230
Chambers, E. K., 8967
Chambrun, C: L. de, 8854, 9081, 9586
Chaney, S., 9354
Chang, Y. Z., 9249
Chapman, George, 8899-8909
'Charles I as Patron of Poetry and Drama,' 9061
Charlton, H. B., 8947
Charques, R. D., 8892
Chettle, Henry, 8910
Chew, S. C., 8976, 9612
Child, H., 8823
Chronology, 8911
Church, S. H., 9535
Clark, C., 9544
Clark, E: G:, 8935
Classics and S, 8912-15
'Clement VII and Henry VIII', 9390
Clemen, W., 8897, 9190, 9197, 9202, 9210, 9237, 9290, 9299, 9338, 9385, 9410, 9416, 9452, 9549, 9466, 9495, 9495c, 9579, 9611
Clow, R: M., 9444
Coblentz, C: C., 8968
Colby, E., 9178, 9205, 9228, 9558, 9574
'Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticisms', 8843, 8907, 8943, 9038, 9183, 9235, 9616
Collier, D. W., 8855
Comedy, 8916-18, 8899, 9634
Commentary, Sn, 8911, 8919-8948, 9112, 9543, 9557, 9561, 9565
Comper, F: M. M., 9212
Conroy, J. P., 9303
Cons, L., 9262
Contemporary Drama, 8969-8989, 9065
Contemporary Poetry, 8990-9009, 9065
Contemporary Prose, 9010-9017
Contemporaries of S, 8949-8968, 9272
'Coriolanus', 9279, 9299, 9526
Cornwall, A. B., 8836
Corte, M. de, 9521
Costume, 9018-9021, 9342, 9354
Courtealt, P., 9262
Crabitès, P., 9390
Craig, H., 8851, 9065
Craig, W. J., 9678
Creswick, H. R., 9127
Croce, B., 9504
Crofts, A., 9124
Crosse, G., 8831
Crowther, B., 9419
Crundell, H. W., 8826, 9366, 9498
Cuningham, H., 9417, 9471
Cunliffe, J. W., 9675
Curry, W. C., 9490
'Cymbeline', 8944, 9300

D

Dahlström, C. E. W. L., 9043
Dawson, G. E., 9527
Dawson, J. C., 9256
Day, John, 9022
De Matons, G., 9096
De Ricci, S., 9217
'Death and Eliz'n Drama', 8978
Deaton, M., 8920
Deckner, E., 9440
Dekker, Thomas, 8976, 9023-27
del Re, 9083

Denny, C. F., 9383
Deutschbein, M., 9319, 9422
Dick, A: B., 9188
Digeon, A., 9438
Dedd, W. M., 9064
Dodds, A. E., 9503
Dodds, M: H., 9415, 9498
Downe, John, 8996, 9003, 9004, 9028-39
Doran, B:, 9575
Dowden, E., 9679-80-81
Downs, B. W., 9316
Drama, 9040-44
Draper, J. W., 9298, 9318, 9524, 9607
Duinkerken, A. V., 9141
Drayton, M., 9045-7
Drew, A., 9080
Dryden's comedies, The Sources of, 9150, 9166
Dunn, E: C., 8988, 9004, 9075, 9455, 9486, 9549, 9581, 9615
Dunstan, W. R., 9417
Dyer, F: E., 9007

E

E., J. H., 9523
Earl of Listowell, 9654
Eccles, M., 9175, 9182, 9218
Eckels, R. P., 9428
Eckhardt, E., 8926, 8945, 8989
Economics, 9048
Edgar, I. I., 9241, 9241a
Editions, Editors, Editing, 9049-9051, 9064
Education, 9052
Eidson, J. O., 8930
Eichler, A., 9202, 9255
Eliot, T. S., 8947
Elisabeth et la tragédie du roi Richard II, 9461
Elizabeth, Queen, 9053-9061, 9067, 9091, 9125, 9155, 461, 9554, 9589, 9624
Ellis-Fermor, U: M., 8840, 8902, 8915, 8934, 9025, 9087, 9173, 9188, 9218, 9221, 9232, 9245, 9648, 9676
Elton, O., 8942
Empson, W., 9281
'England: A History of British Progress', 9074
'England in Picture, Song, and Story', 9675
Environment, 9602-9077
Erasmus, 9126, 9142, 9145
Ethics, 9078-9
Evans, F. I., 8974
Evans, W. McC., 9270
Ewen, C. L., 8962, 9274
Extracts, 9080

F

'Factual Outlines of English Literature . . . to 1900', 9216
Farnham, W., 8913, 8916, 8985, 9000, 9226, 9268, 9328, 9653
Fellowes, E. H., 9272
Ferguson, O., 9477
Feyel, P., 9163a
Fictionized, S, 9081-82
Fischer, E., 9312
Fischer, W., 9321, 9660
Fisher, F. J., 9073
Fleming, J. R., 8938
Florio, John, 9083
Fodor, N., 8856
Folios, 9084
Ford, H. L., 8850, 9049
Ford, John, 9026, 9085-9088
Fowler, S., 8864
France and French Criticism, 9089-9096
Franz, W., 9672
Freedley, G., 9472
Freeman, B:, 9019
French, J. M., 9039
Friedrich, W. G. 9580
Fries, C., 9151
Funck-Brentano, F., 9066

G

G., H., 9671
Gaaf, W. van der, 9538
Gabriel, G. W., 9420
Garland, R., 9420
Garrett, J., 9042
Garrod, H. W., 9518
Garvin, K:, 9204, 9491, 9498
Gascoigne, G., 9097
Gaw, A., 9637
Genthe, A., 8870
German Criticism and Germany, 9098-9115, 9658-71
Ghosh, J. C., 8848
Gibb, M. A., 8949
Gibbs, D:, 9145
Gibson, W., 9511
Gilbert, D., 9346
Gilder, R;, 9231, 9360
Gillet, L., 9304
Giordano, G. N., 9163
Glunz, H., 9664
Goldbloom, A., 9238
'Golden Aphroditis, The', 9008, 9015.
'Good Newes from Virginia' (1613), 9016
Goodwin, G., 8862
Gottfried, R., 9599, 9617
Gourfinkel, N., 9567
Gover, J. E. B., 9673
Grammar, Sn, 9196
Grange, J., 9008, 9015
'Granges Garden' (1577), 9008
Granville-Barker, H., 8947, 9254, 9363, 9468

Grebanier, B. D. N., 9568
Green, J: M. C., 9018
Greene, Robert, 9116-8
Greg, W. W., 8947, 9119, 9315, 9331, 9413, 9467
Grewe, W., 9434, 9437
Griffin, W. J., 9501
Grismer, R. L., 9454
Gros, L. G., 9034
Grosse, F., 8989, 9102
Guppy, H., 9129
Gurner, E. H., 8888, 9081a

H

Hakluyts, the two R., 8954
Hamer, D., 9592
'Hamlet', 8923, 8965, 9301-69, 9524, 9526, 9544, 9550
Hammerle, K., 8987
Handleman, C:, 9351
Handwriting, 9119
Hankins, J. E., 9181
Harbage, A., 8982, 9043a
Harington, J., 9120-21
Harper, M. McL., 9002
Harrison, G. B., 8947, 9022
Hart, A., 9301
Hastings, W. T., 9194, 9453
Haughton, N., 9564
Hauptman, G., 9325
Heaton, E:, 9533
Heffner, R., 9600, 9618
Heiner, W., 9259
Heline, T., 9439, 9470
Heltzel, V. B., 9551
Hemingway, S. B., 9374
'Henry IV', 8829, 9370
'Henry V', 9376-80
'Henry VIII', 9388-94
Heraldry, 9003, 912, 9179
Hero, The, 9021, 9044
Herrick, Robert, 9123
Herzig, P., 9665
Heuer, H., 9153
Heylbutt, R:, 8872
Heywood, Thomas, 9023, 9124
Hibbard, A., 9215
Hill, W. A., 8916a
Hodgson, G:, 9287
Holdaway, N. A., 9570
Holland, 9125-47, 9160
Holstein, M., 9253
Holzknecht, K. J., 9685
Houghton, F. T. S., 9673
Houghton, N., 9341
Howard, M., 9568
Howard, R. G., 9154
Hudson, H. H., 9164
Huhner, M., 9557
Huizinga, J., 9139
Hulbert, V. B., 9614
Hunkin, J. W., 9556
Hurst, H. N., 8922
Hutchinson, F. E., 8961
Hutchinson, P., 9677

I

'Idyll u. Tragödie', 9060a
'Imaginary Conversations', 8951
India, 9148-9
Influence, S's, 9111- 9150-54, 9279
Ireland, 9155
Isaac, F., 9530
Isaacs, J., 8947- 9198
'Isle of Guls, The', 9022
Italy, 9084, 9156-63a, 9587

J

Jack, P. M., 8924, 9568
Jackson, T. A., 9561
Jackson, W. A., 9116
Jacob, N:, 8876
Jacobean drama, the, 8840, 8902, 8915, 8934, 8978, 9025, 9087, 9173, 9221, 932, 9245, 9648, 9676
Jadziewski, K., 9156
Jaggard, W., 9552
Jan, R. Z. von, 9107
Japan, 8222
Jeans, I:, 8863
Jenkins, E:, 8890, 9222
Jenkins, H., 8910
Jerrold, I. 8886
Jhering, H., 9666
'Joan of Arc', 9095
Johnson, A. F., 9531
Jonson, Ben., 9003, 9004, 9027, 9164-9184
Jouvet, L., 9644
Judge, C. B., 9119
'Julius Caesar', 9395-9401, 9526
Junge, J. D., 8986
Jünger, F. G., 8917
'Justice in England, The Execution of' 9017
'Juvenilia or Certain Paradoxes', 9028

K

Kahrl, G. M., 9050
Kalthoff, W., 9635
Kane, R. J., 9011
Kassner, R., 9112, 9361, 9412, 9430, 9569
Kelly, B: M., 8940a
Kelly, J. A., 9109
Kelly, W., 8879
Kemble, J., 8823, 9626

Keudel, R:, 9667
Kimball, E: G., 8861
'King John', 9402-3
King L:, 9386
'King Lear', 8923, 9404-13, 9526, 9544
Kirk, R., 9234
Kiulavkov, K., 9353
Kittredge, G. L., 8858. 9684
Kluge, O., 9128
Knickerbocker, W. S., 8860
Knight, A. H. J., 9327
Knight, G. W., 8947, 9271, 9288, 9300, 9332, 9388, 9409, 9423, 9451, 9474, 9499, 9534, 9620, 9629
Knights, L. C., 8975, 9048
Knowlton, E. C., 8939
Kocher, P. H., 8980
Kogan, S. D., 9114, 9562
Knoetzke, R., 9547
Koszul, A., 9492
Kreider, P. V., 8899, 9541
Krutch, J. W., 9349, 9368
Künkler, R., 9668
Küry, H., 9100
Kurz, W., 9669
Kyd, Thomas, 9185-86

L

L., G. G., 8904, 9006, 8908
Lancaster, H. C., 8847
Landor, W. S., 8951
Landrum, G: W., 9610
Langbaine, G., 8984
Langston, B., 9030
Language, S's, 8942, 9187-9024, 9301, 9445
Larrabee, S. A., 9200
Larrick, N., 9398
Law, 9017, 9318, 9540
Law, R. A., 8911, 9408
Lawrence, W. J., 9468, 9636, 9642
Lawson, J. H., 8971, 9633
Leavis, F. R., 9291
Leech, C., 9307
Legouis, E., 9450
Lehnert, M., 9199
Leishman, J. B., 9583
Lennep, W. V., 8841
Lewis, C. S., 9596, 9609
Lewis, F. R., 8996
'Lessing's Relation to the English Language & Literature', 9111
Liddell, M. H., 9050a
Linthicum, M: C., 9020
Lindsay, J., 9033, 9292a, 9400
Lindsay, P., 8224, 9372, 9378, 9384, 8402, 9458, 9454
Loane, G. G., 8901
Lofts, N:, 8865, 9548a
Lockridge, R., 9346
Lodge, Thomas, 9205-6
London, 9207-8
'Lost Plays of S's Age', 8903, 8976, 8981, 9026
'Love's Labours Lost', 9019, 9414-18, 9553
Lowndes, B:, 8884
Lugli, V., 9260
Lukas, G., 8946
Lunacharski, A., 9562
Lushington, F., 8883
Lyly, John, 9209-10
Lyrics, 9211-12

M

M., E. F., 9349
Mabbott, M: C., 9248
'Macbeth', 9042, 9419-33, 9524, 9526, 9544
MacDonald, I:, 8891
'Machiavelli & His Times', 9158
Mackenzie, A: M., 9628
Mackie, W. S., 9187
Mac Leod, M., 9123
MacMunn, G., 9053
Malleson, J. P., 9306, 9366
Mandin, L., 9367, 9571
Manuals, 9213-16
Manuscripts, 9217
'Marc Antony', 9292a, 9400
Marlowe, C., 9218-9231, 9553
Marston, J., 9004, 9232
Marxist Interpretation of S, 9566, 9568
Massinger, P., 9233-35, 9574
Mathew, D., 9555
Mathews, W., 9576
Matulka, B:, 9267
Maurois, A., 9077, 9081, 9089
Mawer, A., 9193, 9673
McCabe, L., 9393
McDermott, L:, 9362 [a]
McDougald, J. F., 9424
McDowell, M: M., 9157
McIlwraith, A. K., 9234
McKerrow, R. B., 9476, 9529
McLean, M: P., 9250
McPeek, J. A. S., 9606
Meade, J. R., 8869
'Measure for Measure', 8923, 9283, 9434-34a, 9524
Medicine, 9236-43, 9544
'Medicine in Sn Plays', 8957, 9236, 9333
Medieval heritage of Elizabethan tragedy, 8913, 8916, 8985, 9000, 9226, 9268, 9653
'Merchant of Venice', 9435-43.
Merrifield, F. de G., 9405
'Merry Wives of Windsor', 9249, 9273, 9444-5
Messel, O., 9480
Messiaën, P., 9500, 9588

Mettin, H. C., 9658
Meyer-Benfey, H., 9313
Middleton, T., 9244-45
Miller, J. L., 9242
Millet, F. B., 8887
Minderaa, P., 9160
Miscellanea, 9246-54
Mitchell, P. B., 8829, 8830
Monkhouse, N., 8919
Monologue, 9255
Montaigne, M., 9256-67
More, R. P., 9225
Morgan, M:, 9348
Morhardt, M., 9418
Morison, S. E., 9052
Morley, C., 9686
Morris, J. E., 9432
Morris, F. J. A., 9433
'Moscow Rehearsals', 9564
'Much Ado About Nothing', 9446
Muir, D: E., 8924, 9158
Munday, A., 9268
Murry, J. M., 8853, 8924, 8947, 9283, 9285, 9305, 9309, 9377, 8382, 9404, 9421, 9436, 9448, 9482, 9489, 9508, 9525, 9643
Music, 9269-73

N

Name, Sh's, 9274-5
Needleman, M. H., 9213-4
'Neglected Virtue' [and *The Pilgrim*], 8841
'Netherland en S', 9090, 9276, 9345
Netherlands, 9276-7
Newdigate, B. H., 9030, 9167, 9456
New York, 9278
Niccols, R., 9009
Nicoll, A., 9621, 9647
Nisbet, U., 9483
Noodt, S. J. vander, 9619
Noordenbos, O., 9143
Nordmeyer, H. W., 8847
Norton, C. E., 9460
Northup, G. T., 9590
Norway, 9279
Nosworthy, J. M., 8932, 9311
Noyes, R. G., 8841, 9045, 9170, 9176
Nugent, F. S., 9477

O

Occultism in S, 9439, 9470
Odell, G. C. D., 9278
Oliphant, E. H. C., 8838, 9294
Oman, C., 9072, 9392, 9630
'Oral Interpretation of Forms of Literature', 9250
Osgood, C. G., 9223
Osborn, A. W., 9582
'Othello', 9273, 9447-42, 9544
Otis, W. B., 9213, 9214
Overburian Characters, The, 9010
Oxford-Shakespeare Question, 9280

P

Padelford, F. M., 9005, 9592
Page, F., 9179
Paine, G., 8847
Paletta, G., 8973
Palmer, P. M., 9225
Papiroff, S:, 9375
Parker, D:, 8874
Parmenter, M:, 9613
Parrish, W. M., 9523a
Pastoral, 9281
Patch, H. R., 9627
Patrick, D. L., 9463
Paylor, W. J., 9010, 9020
Payne, B. I., 9623
Peele, George, 9282
'Peeps into S', 9080
Pelezzi, C., 9040
Pendered, M: L., 9189
Pendleton, L., 8948
Pennink, R:, 9090, 9276, 9345
'Pericles', 9453-54
Pertwee, R., 8880
'Phoenix Nest, The', 9068
Pickel, M. B., 9061
Pisharoti, R., 9041
Plattard, J., 9264
Plays & Poems, 9283-9502
Plewa, F., 9543
'Poems', 9004, 9455-6
Poetics, Poetry, 9503-9532a
Politics, 9524-26
Pomeranz, H., 8957, 9236, 9333
Pongs, H., 9526
Porteau, P., 9262
Portraits, 9527
Potter, R., 9032
Powell, S. W., 9522
Praz, M., 9086, 9202
Predecessors, 9528
Price, H. T., 8832, 9308, 9445, 9495b, 9576
'Principles of Sn Production', 9271, 9288, 9332, 9388, 9409, 9423, 9451, 9474, 9499, 9534, 9620, 9629
Printing, 8823, 9529-37, 9564
Pronunciation, S's, 9538
Prouty, C. T., 9097
Proverbs, 9539-40
Psychology, 8899, 9434a, 9541-44
Putt, G., 9635
'Puttenham, G.', 9509

R

Raglan, Lord, 9021, 9044, 9371, 9373
Raith, J., 9587
Ralegh, Walter, 9545-53
Rathborne, I: E., 9605
Raven, A. A., 9324
Raymond, M:, 8868
Raysor, T. M., 8843, 8907, 8943, 9038, 9183, 9235, 9616
Read, C., 8956, 9057, 9070, 9389
Read, H., 9515
Reed, E., 8882
Reich, B., 9114
Reijnen, H., 9147
Reinhardt, K. F., 9078
Religion, 8844, 8845, 9302, 9554-59
Renaissance, The, 9066
"Rhedecynian", 9115
Rich, T., 9121
'Richard II', 9457-61
'Richard III', 9462-67
Ridley, M. R., 8857, 8936, 9191, 9381, 9641, 9646
Rival, P., 9391
Roberts, D. R., 9317
Robertson, J. M., 8947
Robinson, C. E., 9074
Rollins, H. E., 8898, 8990, 8993, 8997, 9006, 9637
'Romeo and Juliet', 9100, 9468-80, 9585, 9637
Rossi, M. M., 8960
Roth, C., 9261
Rothe, H., 9659
Rudé J. L., 9649
Russia, 9560-71
Russo, S., 9657
Rylands, G., 8947

S

Sabbe, M., 9137
Sackville-West, V:, 9092
Saillens, F., 8933
Saisho, F., 8822
Salls, H: H., 9387
Salmon, D., 9007
Salter, H. E., 8955
Sampley, A. M., 9282
Sampson, A., 9029
Sampson, G., 9468
Sanders, C., 9116
Sandison, S: E., 9370
Santayana, G., 9320
Sargeaunt, G. M., 8944, 9497
Sargeaunt, J:, 9086
Sargent, R. M., 8990
Sartorius, E:, 9542
Satire, 9572
Sayers, D: L., 8878
Schick, J., 9312
Schneegans, F. E., 9263
Schneider, R., 9220
Scholderer, V., 9295
Schollmeyer, V., 9258
Schrey, K., 9050
Schroeder, R. A., 9485
Schulz, B., 9110
Schücking, L. L., 8947, 8977, 9218, 9322, 9331, 9343, 9369, 9670
Schutze, J., 9293
Scotland of Q. Mary, The, 9628
Searle, J., 9219
Segond, J., 9650, 9652, 9655-6
Seiler, C., 9082
Selincourt, E. de, 9505
Sellmair, J., 9130
"Senex", 9425
Sensabaugh, G. F., 9088
Shahani, R. G., 9149
'Shakespeare', 8853, 8924, 9283, 9285, 9309, 9377, 9382, 9404, 9421, 9436, 9448, 9482, 9508, 9525, 9643
Shann, R., 8893
Sharpe, R. B., 8977, 9645
Shaw, J. E., 8847
Shears, A. W., 8896
Sherwood, M:, 9514
Shillinglaw, A. T., 9171
Shine, H., 9517
Shirley, James, 9573-4
Shorthand, 9413, 9475-6
Sidney, Sir Philip, 8992, 9577-84
Simpson, E:, 9118
Simpson, P., 9529
"Sinbad", 8871
Sisson, C. A., 9457
Sisson, C. J., 8903, 8976, 8981, 9026
'Slang and Popular Phrases Used by S.', 9192
Sleeth, C. R., 8923
Small, S. A., 8925
Smirnov, A. A., 9566, 9568
Smith, A. G., 8959, 9058, 9071, 9625
Smith, C. G., 9597
Smith, D. F., 9252
Smith, L. P., 9037, 9266
Smith, R., 9329, 9397, 9426, 9683
Smith, R. M., 9310
Smith, W. M., 9216
Snuggs, H. L., 9168
Somerset, R., 9021, 9044
Songs, 9212
'Sonnets', S's, 9270, 9481-87
Sorenson, C:, 9292
Sorenson, F:. 9545
Sources, 9297, 9585-88
Spain, 9589-9591
Spargo, J. W., 9462
Speck, J., 9343
Spencer, H., 8910, 9365, 9529, 9640

Spencer, T., 8978
Spenser, Edmund, 8992, 9009, 9592-6619
Spiegler, C. G., 9401
Spriggs, C. O., 9339
Spurgeon, C: F. E., 8947, 9188, 9195, 9202
Stage and Staging, 021, 9620-22
Stagge, J., 8877
Starnes, D. T., 9209, 9380
Stebbins, R., 9477
Stein, H., 9593, 9608
Stenton, F. M., 9193
Stewart, H. L., 9162
Still, C., 8937, 9493, 9516
Stratford-on-Avon, 9623
Stoll, E. E., 8926, 8947, 9449-50
Strathmann, E. A., 9593
Stuart, Mary, 9544, 9624-28
'Style in S', 8942
Supernatural, The, 9629-30
Sutherland, J. R., 9505

T

'Taming of the Shrew', 9488, 9539
Tannenbaum, S. A., 9939, 8846, 8849, 8852, 9122, 9214, 9334, 9337, 9359, 9396, 9494
Tate, A., 8995, 9031, 9247, 9507, 9572
Taylor, A., 8847
Taylor, E. G. R., 8954
Taylor, G. C., 9329, 9397, 9426, 9442, 9683
Taylor, M. A., 9055
Taylor, R., 9117, 9185, 9229, 9296
Tate, A., 8995, 9031, 9247, 9507, 9572
Teaching, 9631-2.
Teager, F: E., 8953, 9036
Technique, 9633-7
'Tempest', 8923, 8944, 9019, 9489-9493
Tenney, E. A., 9206
Textual Criticism, 9638-42
Thaler, A., 9297, 9585, 9594
Theater and Theatrical History, 9643-47
Theobald, H. S., 8881
'Theory and Technique of Playwriting', 8971, 9633
Thienen, F. V., 9136
Thrall, W. F., 9215
Tillotson, K:, 9046, 9195
'Timon of Athens', 9494-5
'Titus Andronicus', 9495a-95c, 9505, 9506
Tomlinson, W. E., 8972, 8987
Tourneur, Cyril, 9648
Tousey, S., 8894
Toye, F., 9273
Tragedy, 9649-57
Translation, 9100, 9485, 9638, 9658-71
Trask, C., 9104, 9358
Trask, W., 9095
Trench, W. F., 8928, 8932, 9330
'Troilus and Cressida', 9496-97
Trothe, T. von, 9108
Turolla, E., 9161
Tuve, R:, 9604
'Twelfth Night', 9019, 9249, 9498-9.
'Two Gentlemen of Verona', 9425, 9500
Tyabji, F. B., 9148

V

Vail, C. C. D., 9111
Van Dam, B. A. P., 9144
Van Draat, P. F., 9407
Van Gelder, R., 8924
Verse, 9672
Vessie, P. R., 9434a
Villey, R., 9263, 9267
Vloemans, A., 9131-5
Vocht, H. de, 9180
Voris, E:, 9362

W

Wagenblass, J. H., 8900
Walcott, F. G., 8931
Wales, J: G., 9447
Walker, A:, 8990, 9001, 9206, 9364, 9509
Walker, A. J., 9211
Walschap, G., 9140
Wanderscheck, H., 9638
'War of the Theatres, the Real', 8977
Warren, C. H., 9584
Warwickshire, 9026, 9244, 9673-75
Wassenberg, R., 9565
Watkin-Jones, A., 8984
Watson, E. M., 9240
Weber, C. J., 8844
Webster, John, 9676
Weidner, E:, 9120
Welby, A., 9275
Wells, W. S., 9376
Wentworth, C. L., 8983
Wheeler, H: B., 9060
Whitaker, A., 9016
White, T. H., 8895
Whitebrook, J. C., 8965
Whiting, B. J., 9539
Whiting, G. W., 9548
Wilcox, J., 8289
Willcocks, M. P., 8889
Willocock, G. D., 9001, 9509
Williams, C., 9506
Williams, E. B., 8847, 8991, 8994
Williams, J. D., 9350
Williams, R., 9040
Williams, Ellis, A:, 9073
Williamson, B., 9546
Williamson, C. H., 9519
Williamson, G., 8914
Wilson, E. C., 9054

Wilson, J. D., 8941, 9306, 9362, 9366 9403, 9417
Wilson, W. J., 9217
Wine, C:, 8970
'Winter's Tale', 8923, 8944, 9280, 9501-2
'Witches and Warlocks', 9076
Withington, R., 8918
Withycombe, E: G., 8848
Women, 9544, 9677
Works, 9678-9686
Worrall, W., 9475, 9495a
Wren, P. C., 8885
Wurtsbaugh, J., 9601
Wyatt, E. V., 9420, 9477
Wynn, D., 8875

Y

Yates, F:, A., 8905, 8909, 8963, 9159, 9414, 9415
Young, F. B., 9323
Young, S., 9369

Z

Zachrisson, R. E., 9538
Zandvoort, R. W., 9578, 9582
Zeeveld, W. G., 9587a
Zeitlin, J., 9265
Zeydel, E. H., 9098, 9099
Zucker, A. E., 9279
Zühlsdorff, H., 9634

1564 — APRIL 23 — 1937

As fiery Mars hangs red above, a world
Resounds with iron rivetings of war,
Where gathering legions tread, guidons unfurled:
The ailing nations' bloody avatar.
Man against man with deadly armament,
Grenade and gun, surge on in mortal riot;
The screaming shell, the gas, with dread intent,
Make bare the earth and leave it empty, quiet,
The last survivor fallen. Tenantless
The planet spins, a mighty derelict lorn,
Awaiting a new birth. How may we bless
Impending races yet unplanned, unborn?

We shall bequeathe one Bardic Name sublime
To quicken atoms in the distant slime.

PAUL FATOUT.

Purdue University,
Lafayette, Ind.

A NEW PREFACE TO SHAKSPERE'S SONNETS

By HENRY W. WELLS

NO comprehensive interpretation of Shakspere's *Sonnets* has received or, I think, merited general acceptance. The boldest attempt, that by Sir Sidney Lee, regards them as "literary exercises." Although Lee carefully acknowledged that some biographical background could be traced, and although he believed unequivocally and against the opinion of most scholars that the Earl of Southampton was demonstrably Shakspere's friend, his general view was that the poems were ultra artificial in nature. Save for six sonnets, which he found essentially original, he held the sequence to be wholly conventional and thus of quite the same stamp as the vast majority of Renaissance sonnet collections. Shakspere's poems were to be regarded as delightful poetic trifles written to amuse his patron-friend. This interpretation has received some approval without being generally accepted. Its prestige, one may venture to say, lies rather in the fact that no scholar of equal weight has proposed a comparable alternative. Lee's view might be compared to the creed of some outmoded religion, accorded a certain amount of lip service, but little devotion. Vigorous heretics have been many, but their ranks confused and no equally powerful or well defined interpretation has been offered in substitution.

Sidney Lee's view is convenient to begin with in the present discussion because the general conclusions reached in this article are at all points divergent from his. I hope to show Shakspere himself as, in certain important respects, a rebel in the tradition of the Renaissance sonnet, to show his sequence to be an expression of reality and not a literary exercise, a single and most living organism (though no rigid mechanism) instead of a random collection of lyrics, essentially a work of the same poetic mind which produced the plays and not a mere digression. In short, I shall attempt to show that Lee seriously misinterprets both the order and character of the poems. His study of the Sonnets appears sound only in the most detailed fields of research. We undoubtedly owe him a large debt for the many analogs which he established between certain details and outward

features of Shakspere's poems and that general body of Renaissance sonnet poetry which the great scholar knew so "excellently well."

In a word, the quality most neglected in current interpretations of Shakspere's *Sonnets* is, I believe, their realism. And the vital difference between this sequence and almost all other English sequences, to which may be added the great majority of sonnets written abroad, lies in the nature of the allegory employed. The orthodox Rennaissance sonnets and Shakspere's are essentially allegorical; but the orthodox sonnet, being fundamentally Platonic, compares the ideal with the real, while Shakspere, being realistic, compares one reality with another. To enlarge and clarify this statement, the orthodox sonnet celebrates an ideal figure with symbolical reference or inference to a real one, whereas Shakspere deliberately compares his friendship for a patron with a love between the sexes. Petrarch writes with reference at once to a platonic idea and a mortal woman; while Shakspere writes with reference, on the one hand, to the friendship between a high-born patron and humble poet and, on the other hand, by inference, to love between man and woman. All orthodox sonnets contain two poles of reference, and so do Shakspere's. But Petrarch has one hand in heaven, another on earth; the English poet is earthbound wholly. Thus in the initial conception of his sequence, Shakspere is an innovator in the tradition of British realism and prophetic modern literature.

The true picture of Shakspere's *Sonnets* has, I think, been evaded by critics, partly because evasion was so concenient. The sonnets that have been most admired contain no use of the masculine pronoun or other evidences of the relationship between poet and patron. These poems have been reproduced in a hundred anthologies. To trace the unity of the *Sonnets* as a sequence requires a special exercise of the imagination, since they are printed in a manner making their true origin and use a matter of inference and conjecture. Scholars, such as Dowden, who have argued in behalf of the ordering of the poems in Thorpe's quarto, have often proved over-zealous, claiming really a stricter order for the poems than is admissible, and yet overlooking the organic character of the sequence through a failure to

infer the nature of its original development. Moreover, there is more than a trace of reticence and disinterest in the entire topic. One suspects that critics have been disinclined toward an investigation which threatened quite wrongly, I believe, to lead to speculations regarding homosexuality.

But there is, happily, no reason for moral alarm; and we may safely conclude that at least so far as the *Sonnets* are concerned we have no evidence of abnormality.

The approach to the subject embraces two lines of argument inextricably intertwined. One concerns the reality of the characters mentioned in the poems; the other, the question of how the poems came to be written. The answer to the first question tells us what kind of figures are used in the game, that to the second, the rules of the game played. Both taken together explain in a broad way the order of the poems in Thorpe's quarto, why this order is as good as it is, and why in the nature of the case it could be no better.

The cryptic dedication of Thorpe's quarto casts no definite light on any matter, and is wholly irrelevant to this discussion.

But it is essential in my understanding of the poems to hold them by one man and primarily about one man. Practically all the evidence points in favor of this view, and of the further view that the *Sonnets* are by Shakspere and about him. Attacks on his authorship have been even less frequent than convincing. The series, as we shall see, cannot readily be dismembered and distributed among a number of poets. Although it covers much ground, its parts are, on the whole, well knit and plausibly combined. Moreover, as able critics have gone almost out of their way to attest, the poems everywhere bear the mark of Shakspere. Though they are all in a sense conventional and derivative, in varying degrees they have the Shaksperian flavor. The best sonnets are too good to be by another hand, the worst too ingeniously perverse in badness to be by a less daring author. It is really remarkable that these scattered members of the Shaksperian flock have so seldom been attacked by roving iconoclasts, but that they have held their ground in Shakspere's name is no wonder. So far as we know anything about sixteenth century English literature, we know these poems to be his, all marked by his unmistakable sign.

The question of the biographical element in the poems is a much more serious challenge to criticism, and of peculiar importance to our appreciative enjoyment. If, as I shall presently argue, the *Sonnets* are to be regarded as a true unity, then the "I" of these poems must be one man. By virtue of many references to literary patronage and to the theatrical profession, by puns upon the name William and the evocation of a most sensitive, volatile, witty, emotional and imaginative spirit, we may set it down as proven that the "I" of the poems is the author. While we are not obliged, of course, to believe all that he says directly or indirectly about himself, we are compelled to the view that he is speaking of himself. The theory advanced on rare occasions that the *Sonnets* were composed in whole or in part for the use of other persons than the poet appears untenable.

If the "I" of the poems is throughout a no less historical figure than the poet, then the three other characters mentioned at some length in the sequence are presumably also in the same category, that is, more or less faithful images of real persons acquainted with the author in real life. There is no good reason why he should have lain abed inventing a literary patron when he had one and possibly more, conjured in fancy for a rival poet when he had several in actuality, or even imagined a mistress, when here, too, not only rumor but probability leads to the same conclusion. The likelihood of a real drama shapes itself unmistakably. As Professor H. D. Gray admirably argued, sustained by the ever cautious Professor R. M. Alden, the fairly consistent story as told in the *Sonnets* points to real life, and its relatively loose and illogical development argues less for fiction than for reality. Had Shakspere wished to fabricate a story, he would in all probability have made a much simpler and more narrowly consistent one than that of the *Sonnets*. All conditions argue for the unfolding of events through a period of three or four years, and to poems written for the most part in clusters, despatched as verse letters, and telling a tale more in the loose fashion in which events naturally shape themselves than according to the artificial and symmetrical patterns of art. The poems were written to be so understood; only with this understanding can they be fully enjoyed. Although their sound, imagery

and simple love poetry are certainly most charming, their full flavor and imaginative richness remain for the discerning eye.

Shakspere himself in his sequence records the passage of three years. During this period some poems were certainly written in absence, others apparently while Shakspere and his patron were together. The internal character of the series points almost certainly to this highly artificial type of correspondence. No one can say exactly which sonnets were sent or intended to be sent singly and which in groups. It would be foolish to insist that we can tell just which are the poems in each group. Nevertheless, the evidence seems to me thoroughly convincing that in this manner the *Sonnets* were composed. We have first a hundred and twenty-six sonnets, comprised of various groups all addressed to the patron-friend; then twenty-six sonnets regarding a "dark lady" and comprising a group in themselves; finally two sonnets wedding a myth about Cupid with a reference to the mineral springs at Bath. The two concluding sonnets make an excellent and more or less impersonal cadenza to the series as a whole, for they are light, witty and somewhat disillusioned. These two may henceforth be dismissed and attention turned successively to the first one hundred and twenty-six sonnets and then to the group on the dark lady.

One frequently mentioned hypothesis is so convincing as to merit preliminary attention here. It has often been held that number 126, which is not a true sonnet, was designed as an epilogue to what is now the first ninety-nine poems, thus making a "century." The next group consisting of twenty-five poems alludes to the passage of three years. The probability is that poems 1-99 and 126 were composed about 1594 and sonnets 100-125 about 1598. The episode of the dark lady is intimately connected with the earlier groups of sonnets but in no way connected with sonnets 100-125. Earlier the poet accuses both his friend and himself of infidelity. In *Sonnets* 100-125 he blames only himself. The inference is that all the sonnets grouped after 127 belong to the earlier period, about 1594.

There seems good reason why the group of peculiarly bitter and disillusioned sonnets, dealing with the dark lady,

should be segregated as they are. Thus the arrangement of the three or four major divisions strictly among themselves seems planned. In the case of the one hundred and twenty-six sonnets also a certain amount of order is discernible. As already stated, *Sonnets* 100-125 appear to be written in one stage of the poet's life, three or four years later than the period which witnessed his first and longest wave of sonnet writing. The sonnets grouped as first in Thorpe's quarto, namely those on the desirability of offspring, stand apart from the series as a whole and form an admirable introduction. On the one hand, they merely prepare the way for a series of poems depicting a more intimate relation between patron and poet, and, on the other hand, in dealing with fertility they introduce the succeeding sonnets on the erotic theme. Some aspects still more worthy of note regarding *Sonnets* 100-125 have less often been mentioned. There is a sobering tone. And in the last few sonnets here the poet boasts of his fidelity at a time when the patron has fallen "under the blow of thralled discontent." These circumstances would admirably fit the case of Shakspere's only known literary patron, the Earl of Southampton, who was imprisoned by Elizabeth for the first time in 1598. In any case, a drastically new turn in the patron's fortunes marks the end of a principle division in the sonnet sequence, and what in all probability was the termination of Shakspere's writing upon this theme. Thus the two groups of poems at the beginning and end of the major section of Shakspere's sequence are well placed, representing a plausible beginning and termination of an active friendship. No notable order can with certainty be found in the manner in which one group succeeds another within this section of the *Sonnets*. Some regard for art and evidence of historical probability may, however, be seen in the location of the sonnets on the rival poet. They break what might become a monotonous series of poems in a largely erotic imagery. As a digression they neither come before the main theme is well established nor crowd unduly upon the dignity of the conclusion. Very likely Shakspere ranked among the first of his young patron's proteges, and other poets, noting his success, crowded increasingly about the honey pot. So jealousy of the dark lady is artistically supplemented by jealousy of the rival poet.

In whatever manner the groups may be ordered in Thorpe's quarto, the existence of the verse epistles or groups of poems is a highly important factor in their biographical significance and realistic meaning. While no one would, I suppose, be so bold as to claim detection of every detail in the arrangements in which the poems were written and despatched with epistolary purport, the groups are approximately these: 1-19; 26-32; 33-42; 43-55; 56-58; 62-65; 66-70; 71-74; 78-96; 97-99; 100-106; 109-112; 113-114; 115-116; 117-126; 127-152; 153-154.

To follow through the entire argument in behalf of this grouping would obviously require inordinate space. The reader sufficiently interested in the subject will, I am confident, find on his own investigation the general truthfulness of this outline. I shall therefore content myself with only the briefest comment.

In most of these groups we find a progressive movement from one poem to the next. A few groups, however, are, for a considerable part at least, merely reiterations and variations of a limited number of themes. Such are two long groups, one dealing with the immortality to be won either through children or through poetic fame (1-19), the other celebrating the evil enchantments of the dark lady (127-152). In the latter group occur, to be sure, two or three poems (notably 145) which may well be tactful interpolations. It is notable that of those here described as without the groups only one sonnet, number 61, stands singly. The other detached poems, 20-25, 75-77, and 107-108 appear in succession. Some of these show from their internal character that they were despatched separately; several are dedicatory sonnets; still others may have been sent alone, or as stray sonnets in groups. A few may have fallen out of groups which we now possess, but, save in one or two cases, this seems highly doubtful.

Much might be said to show that the long group regarding the dark lady is arranged to achieve a maximum of animation and variety, but, as already noted, the poems here fall into no complete, obvious and interlocking sequence. They are strictly harmonized by the repetition of conspicuous themes and moods. These poems are far too vituperative to have been used as epistles to a lady. Their existence

has, I believe, been inadequately accounted for by Shaksperian editors. They were probably with all the rest sent to the patron not only as examples of the poet's wit, but as reflections of some importance in their friendship. Despite obvious contradictions, they were designed to convince the friend of the woman's depravity and of the poet's unhappy infatuation, to keep the woman for the poet if possible, or, if worse came to worse, at least to make his surrender of her favors appear magnanimous.

Questions vaguely asked and vaguely answered regarding the unity or haphazard arrangement of the poems are, I think, clarified by the foregoing view of their origin. This view has been partially stated many times, but its consequences as a rule slighted. It explains why the poems are as well ordered as they are and also why they are ordered no better. While *Sonnets* 1-19 and 100-125 were, one judges, respectively the first and last groups written, and *Sonnets* 123-125 the last of all, no one can pretend that a story is anywhere well told and still less that ideas are logically or systematically developed. The explanation is that the allusions so rife in the poems hint at the confusion of actuality but never attain the logic of pure fiction. The arrangement of the various groups, or separate sonnet epistles, among themselves is relatively speaking unimportant. Even order among the individual lyrics, though ponderable, is certainly not an outstanding aspect of the book. Where threads between the sonnets are clearest, such ties are often more ingenious than profound. Because of the manner in which these vital poetic epistles were produced over a series of years, it is doubtful that if Thorpe had persuaded Shakspere himself to edit the edition of 1609, the poet could have achieved a much better scheme than we have now. The manuscripts which reached Thorpe cannot have been really ill arranged, so well intact is a large proportion of the groups. The really important thing is not the arrangement of the poems but their reference throughout to a small group of actual people and events.

Historical and biographical speculation is legitimately encouraged by the nature of the poems. Such an interpretation is not only an essential part in the aesthetic understanding of the *Sonnets* as the poetic images of real life. It

should be amply used by biographers and students of Shakspere who seek reasonable evidence regarding both the personal and the literary character of this equally illustrious and obscure figure. We see here a fine, rich image of the man. Impressionable, mercurial, witty, melancholy, fretting under social oppression, but a king in the realms of thought, the "I" of the *Sonnets* can best be thought of as William Shakspere. The supreme humility depicted in the sonnets is quite what one would expect of a relatively poor poet toward his noble patron. Through the rich imagery of poetic language, Shakspere's personal life in literary, theatrical and court circles constantly reveals itself in fascinating flashes. The personal view should probably be carried further than most reputable critics have so far ventured. Thus from *Sonnet* 80 there is some evidence that Shakspere was a short man and his rival poet an uncommonly large one. Twice there seem to be allusions to a physical lameness. We catch a tantalizing glimpse of Shakspere as an Elizabethan Byron.

The biographical view just outlined has many consequences for the aesthetic interpretation of the poems. It presents them as warm reality and not merely cool trifling. And it much increases our impression of Shakspere's ingenuity and wit. To be sure, there is no really new theme in his *Sonnets*—one wonders, indeed, whether such themes are ever to be found in readable verse. For every attitude which Shakspere assumes a parallel can be found in other sonneteers. Many such likenesses to English poets have, of course, been shown. Yet the comparisons are more thematic than verbal. No evidence has been drawn from the poems that Shakspere actually translates or paraphrases foreign sonnets as did so many of his English contemporaries. Although he follows, either knowingly or unknowingly, in the footsteps of dozens of French poets and more closely still in the footsteps of scores of Italian sonneteers, he contrives to be highly original not merely in his style but in his subject and intention. He employs three themes rarely, if ever, combined. He has a male patron whom he addresses as a beloved in all the language of the Petrarchan adoration of women. Moreover his triangular love story is original and much more important for his sequence than even Sir Sidney Lee declared. Finally, an unmistakable vein of im-

passioned realism inspires a large part of the sequence quite foreign to the platonic insipidities of the sonneteering vogue as a whole. Even such a sonnet as number 31, often cited as an instance of conventional Renaissance platonism, is by no means so close to ancient metaphysics as to modern psychological theories of the conscious and sub-conscious association of ideas. Platonism is present in Shakspere's sonnets only in a definitely subordinate place.

The *Sonnets* have thus been declared artificial where they are, in fact, realistic, and realistic where they are artificial. The latter mistake arises chiefly from failure to recognize the probable relation of poet and patron which we have just examined, the aspect of the poems most unhappily neglected by their critics. While one may not, of course, speak of absolute necessity, it is most unlikely that the humble playwright and his noble patron stood on terms of a really warm and emotional or impassioned friendship. The probability in the light of the poems is that Shakspere honored, admired and felt sincere affection for the man, served him loyally, and sincerely regretted his misfortunes in the slippery turns of state; but that he actually experienced toward him the erotic feelings so eloquently and unmistakably expressed in the poems is most doubtful. Such language, however, was an acknowledged poetical license in a courtly and affected society. Whether or not Shakspere really loved a charming Ganymede we have no conclusive knowledge, but we may be permitted very gravely to doubt whether he felt this sentiment toward his noble patron where self interest must have been so compelling and primary a force. The overwhelming probability is that he used the language of passion to give flattering expression to his fidelity as a humble servant and follower of the great. What he sought from the patron was not so much love as patronage. What he gave, too, is much less likely to have been a physical or romantic affection than the friendship of an older man and the immortal gift of his poems. In this belief his "private friends" and the patron himself would have read the poems. Hence their allegorical structure. For, on the one side, in hyperbolical language drawn from sexual emotion, they express the relation of patron-friend and poet. As an older man Shakspere even assumes the sober privilege of giving his yound friend prudent advice,

much as Languet advised Sir Philip Sidney. Yet as symbols these are all orthodox love poems, not patron poems. The public reads them first of all in the former light. For the public obviously is not generally given to homosexuality, to literary authorship or patronage, or to suspect any of these "vices." The fame of Shakspere's *Sonnets* has been due overwhelmingly to their power simply as love poetry. So they commonly appear in anthologies. Only a small though very fortunate minority of readers discovers in them in a secondary light the address of an Elizabethan dramatist to his patron. The successful artificiality of the sequence is measured by the fact that over four-fifths of all the sonnets, and more than nine-tenths of the most famous ones, are addressed directly to the friend, and the small remainder nominally addressed to the dark lady. Even as love poems those to the noble patron surpass those to the woman. Shakspere's *Sonnets* should therefore be regarded as allegories no less than *The Vita Nuova, The Divine Comedy, Piers Plowman* or *The Faerie Queene.* For they are continually alive on two levels. On one level is the humble, jealous, devoted poet addressing his patron, on the other is the heart of man addressing the opposite sex in all the ecstasy and bitterness, fancy and frivolity of love.

Shakspere's union of realism in both levels or phases of allegorical writing is by no means unprecedented. It occurs, for example, whenever a tale of a distant past is told as an analog to incidents of a critical present. But such writing brought a new tang into English sonneteering, and, we may even add, into English poetry. Although Shakspere's verbal technique in the *Sonnets* becomes obviously most artificial and even rhetorical, this basic realism places him even as a poet in the van of such great realists as Donne, Jonson, Webster and Middleton, and marks his divorce from the platonic school of English poetry led by Spenser and ornamented by Sidney, Daniel, Constable, Drummond and the many poets who incidentally turned their hand to amorous sonnet writing. Others wrote of Stella, Delia, Idea—Shakspere wrote of real men and women in strikingly intimate situations, discarding theory, embracing fact, and concealing only the prosaic data of names, times and places.

As a result Shakspere's *Sonnets* become profoundly real-

istic, and yet obscure in their many allusions which the imaginative reader is invited to expound as best he may. To enjoy the poems we must have a keen sense for reality, and yet a love for poetic suggestion. No one who objects to veiled allusions should ever read Shakspere's *Sonnets*. This explains why they were consistently and sensibly neglected by Pope, Johnson and the great majority of critics in the eighteenth century. Shakspere's latest full length biographer, curiously enough, goes to extremes of literal-mindedness that would be surprising even in a reader of the illustrious age of Pope. Professor Joseph Q. Adams writes about the sonnets on the rival poet as follows: "Many details circumstantial and personal, yet obscure, are without the slightest artistic merit, and wholly without significance unless understood as allusions to a specific individual. Note, for example, the following:

> Was it his spirit, by spirits taught to write
> Above a mortal pitch, that struck me dead?
> No, neither he, nor his compeers by night
> Giving him aid, my verse astonishëd.
> He, nor that affable familiar ghost
> Which nightly gulls him with intelligence. . . .

So far one must agree fully with Professor Adams. But he continues: "If we knew whom Shakespeare had in mind, or what he is referring to in these curious lines, the sonnets might be effective; as matters stand, however, it is quite meaningless, and as literature of little worth."

It almost seems a pity that serious Shaksperian students should waste even a few precious moments over such trifles as this highly representative poem beginning:

> Was it the proud full sail of his great verse
> Bound for the prize of all-too-precious you. . . .

Yet many simple-minded readers retain an affection even for the foregoing lines. Poets and the public have long loved Shakspere's *Sonnets,* while literal-minded readers, no matter how learned, must of necessity miss their meaning. The latter miss the overtones, and of overtones, even more richly than most true poetry, Shakspere's *Sonnets* are "all compact." To the student of poetic art this must always remain their salient characteristic.

Columbia University,
New York.

COMMUNICATION

Editor, Shakespeare Association Bulletin:

In the October, 1936, issue of the Shakespeare Association Bulletin there is an article by J. M. Beatty, Jr., entitled "The King in *Hamlet*". In the last paragraph on page 242, the author, after quoting the remorseful speech of the king, makes the following statement: "If the king had been a hardened criminal, he would not have been so moved by a casual speech".

In a paper I published in 1921 in *Poet Lore,* entitled "A New Aspect of Shakespeare's Conception of Woman", I pointed out that Shakspere throughout his plays, in his *male* characters, attributes remorse to the majority of his male criminals, indeed to his hardened male criminals. Thus in *Richard III* he quotes Tyrrel as follows:

> "Dighton and Forrest, whom I did suborn
> To do this ruthless piece of butchery,
> Albeit they were flesh'd villains, bloody dogs,
> Melting with tenderness and mild compassion,
> Wept like two children in their death's sad story, etc."

In the same play one of the hired murderers of Clarence is extremely remorseful and expresses himself in part as follows:

> "A bloody deed, and desperately dispatched!
> How fain, like Pilate, would I wash my hands
> Of this most grievous guilty murder done!"

In the Second Part of *Henry VI* (Act III, Sc. 2.) the hired murderer of Duke Humphrey expresses remorse after the act.

I have just mentioned the remorse in the most degraded hardened villains of Shakspere. It is not necessary to call attention to the well-known cases of remorse in Macbeth immediately after the murder of Duncan, to Cawdor, the traitor in *Macbeth,* to King John, Henry IV, to Exton after the murder of Richard II and others.

From the above we can assert that the fact that the King in *Hamlet* is remorseful is not by itself proof that he is not a hardened criminal.

MAX HUHNER, M.D.